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AMERICAN PRISONS AND REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS; A REPORT *

M. LIEPMANN

Professor of Criminology, University of Hamburg

TRANSLATED BY

CHARLES A. FIERTZ, M.D.

Assistant Physician, New York State Psychiatric Institute

BETWEEN August 8 and November 11, 1926, I made a tour of inspection and study of prison conditions in the United States. I undertook the tour as a member of a commission appointed by the Hamburg senate, the other members being Dr. Struve, of the Department of Justice, Mr. Koch, director of the Hamburg prisons, and Dr. Rank, state's architect. The study was undertaken in recognition of the importance that the development of American prison conditions has had for Europe, and especially for Germany, during the Nineteenth Century.

Two American systems of handling prisoners in particular have exerted an influence upon Europe: the Pennsylvania or penitentiary system, and the Auburn system. Both are based upon the principle that imprisonment, first of all, must be organized in such a way as to prevent the prisoners' exerting an evil influence upon one another. The Pennsylvania system achieves this purpose by keeping the prisoner isolated in a single cell both day and night. The Auburn system, on the other hand, requires isolation at night only; by day the prison-

* EDITOR'S NOTE: For a description of the present state of English prisons and comments thereon, see *British Prison Life: The Home Secretary's Views*, in the Notes and Comments section of this number of MENTAL HYGIENE.

ers are kept in common rooms, the danger of their demoralization by one another being combated not by spatial, but by mental isolation—that is, a compulsory silence, rigidly enforced. The first system was put into practice originally in Pennsylvania under the dominating influence of the Quakers. The Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia, which was completed in the second decade of the last century and is still in use, especially attracted the prison reformers of the entire world for fifty years, among them the Hamburg physician, Dr. Julius, who was one of the first men in Germany to succeed in awakening public interest in prison matters. In 1824, by request of the senate, he made a tour of inspection through America and returned a convinced adherent of the single-cell system. To his efforts, which were backed by Wichern and Friedrich Wilhelm IV, we owe the introduction of the Pennsylvania system in Moabit and later in all the larger German prisons.

The second system derives its name from Auburn Prison in the state of New York, which was built in 1816. As this system involves less expense than the construction of cellular prisons, and as it has the further advantages of offering opportunities for work and making fewer demands upon the disciplinary capacities of the staff, it has been used all over the Continent as a substitute for, or as an addition to, the single-cell system.

After the war, however, there arose, especially in England and Germany, a strong agitation against both these systems. Penologists were no longer satisfied with the negative task, the prevention of deterioration, but now aimed at constructive results through the education of the prisoners. This idea of education had been advocated in every country by various individuals—Maconochie in England, Obermaier in Germany, for example—but here again it was in America that the movement had gained its strongest support. Especially worthy of note is the work of E. C. Wines, who won world-wide fame by his paper before the prison congress in Cincinnati in 1870 and by the practical application of his ideas in the first reformatories—particularly the one at Elmira, founded in 1876.

According to this American system, the punishment of a criminal should not be a sentence motivated by the desire to retaliate for the particular offense in question, its duration

fixed from the outset by the judge. Rather it should be adapted to the personality of the criminal and should have as its aim his "reformation". Such an inner transformation cannot be wrought by external mechanical means; it can be brought about only through the prisoner's own efforts. The object of punishment, therefore, should be to arouse his desire to make the effort by giving him the feeling that the punishment is largely a matter within his own control. This object is served by the indeterminate sentence. The judge merely sets a minimum and maximum to the term of punishment; the prisoner's conduct in prison, his activity at work, and his general behavior determine how long he must stay in prison. Through his own efforts, he can shorten his term; by his own negligence and weakness of will, he can lengthen it. The release is made on "parole"—i.e., on condition that certain requirements are fulfilled during an experimental or probationary period. And just as hope, instead of fear, should be made the determining factor in prison life, so all the other prison requirements should be such as will cause the prisoner to regard the prison as a school of education whose purpose is to fit him for an orderly life after his discharge—in other words, as an organization that is working for his own best interest.

This initiated an execution of the sentence that was progressive, providing the convict with a goal and giving him an incentive for the utmost possible development of his capacities.

At first this changed conception of punishment was opposed in Germany. It was under the influence of the Liszt school of penal law that, after a hard struggle, it succeeded in gaining recognition. The new juvenile penal code and the probation system are the first fruits of the American influence. Here again the report of experts who had observed and studied the situation in America exerted a very strong influence. Aschrott, Mittermaier, Freudenthal, and Herr, after personal investigation, reported on the spirit of this "American system of correction" and its materialization in the "reformatory". In spite of criticism of details, all agreed that these institutions represented a great step forward. And the recognition accorded the new conception was not merely

theoretical, for Freudenthal succeeded in converting Krohne, commissioner of the Prussian prisons, a pupil of Julius and Wichern and a passionate advocate of the single-cell system, to the establishment of a German Elmira—the juvenile prison Wittlich on the Mosel (1912).

Since then, notably under the influence of the political upheaval in Germany, the demands of modern penal law are being more and more extensively met. Originally the idea of education was conceded merely as an exception to the usual principle of the penal code, applicable to juvenile criminals only. Now, however, there is increasing recognition of the fact that it represents a fundamental principle of constructive criminal justice.

The effect of this broader and deeper conception upon the German prison system is apparent in the principles governing the execution of prison sentences issued by the Reichsrat in 1923 (*Reichsratsgrundsätze über den Vollzug von Freiheitsstrafen vom 7 Juni 1923*) and more recently in the official bill of a law dealing with the execution of prison sentences (*Amtlicher Entwurf eines Strafvollzugsgesetzes*). Even as early as 1919 it had a marked influence upon the development of the Hamburg prison system. A great part of these regulations are in effect only upon paper, however. Facilities are not available for putting into effect the program of new construction aimed at in the Reichsrat principles. Moreover, the diversity of the administration regulations issued by the various federal states clearly indicates that even among the leading authorities on prison administration, there is no unanimity of opinion as to the application of the principles.

Under the circumstances, it seemed highly desirable to study the present state of the American prison system, which hitherto had been the source of our greatest stimulation. The object of such a study was, first, by a scientific investigation of American conditions, to find a solid theoretical basis for the new German prison law that is about to be formulated; and, second, to see what practical suggestions as to the construction and organization of prisons could be gathered from the experiences of America. This last point is of especial importance for Hamburg because of the proposed removal of the prisons from Fuhlsbüttel to the outskirts of the state.

My report of my observations and the conclusions that I drew from them will be made with both of these points in mind. Let me first, however, express to the *Hochschulbehörde*, the *Senatskommission für die Justizverwaltung*, and to the *Senat* of Hamburg, my deep and sincere gratitude for having been enabled to make this tour of investigation. I feel that it will not only be a lasting stimulation to my own scientific and academic studies, but that it may also have real practical value for the organization of the German, and especially the Hamburg, prison system.

II

The details of the American prison system—which varies greatly in form not only in the different states, but even within the borders of a single state—need not be dwelt upon here. One need discuss only the distinctions between the various types of institution:

1. The *jails* are usually run by the counties, but occasionally by cities, being designated, respectively, county jails and municipal or city jails. Gillin¹ estimates their number as ten thousand. They serve the most varied purposes; they are used as police lockups, as places of detention for prisoners on remand or held for the non-payment of debts, and for criminals serving short prison terms. This group includes also the "houses of correction" and the "workhouses", which, although they originated as a means of combating begging and vagrancy, are now distinguished from the jails solely by the fact that they accept sentenced inmates only. For the most part, however, all kinds of "petty offenders"—i.e., those who violate police regulations or commit minor offenses—are referred to these institutions, and their population differs in no way from that of an ordinary jail.

2. The *state prisons* in some states are also called "state penitentiaries". Apart from the "federal prisons", which are under the jurisdiction of the federal government and which include three "civil prisons", three military, and three naval prisons, all the state prisons are under the administration of

¹ *Criminology and Penology*, by John Lewis Gillin. New York: The Century Company, 1926. p. 552.

the individual states. Each state has at least one prison; the state of New York has five. The small state of Delaware has in Wilmington the New Castle County Workhouse, which receives all kinds of prisoners; it is, therefore, at once state prison, jail, and workhouse. The state of Michigan is now preparing a large new prison for five thousand prisoners in Jackson.

At the present time there are sixty-five state prisons in the United States. All criminals convicted of felonies are sentenced to these prisons, "felony" corresponding approximately to the German "*Verbrechen*". One might say in general that the state prisons receive persons who are sentenced for at least one year for whom, for legal reasons or in the judgment of the court, commitment to one of the special institutions discussed below is out of the question. It is not easy to give a general characterization of the inmates of these state prisons. We find in them professional or habitual criminals, homicides, robbers, and sex offenders. But among them are also many first offenders, convicted of crimes not at all serious in nature, who were sentenced to state prison merely in deference to public sentiment or owing to the excessive, often even barbaric severity of the laws of the state in question.

3. The *reformatories* are under the direction of a special body, a "board of managers", which is usually separated from the prison administration. According to the rules of the first reformatory—Elmira, in the state of New York—only individuals between the ages of sixteen and thirty who have been convicted of felonies, and who have not previously been sentenced to state prisons, shall be committed to the reformatory. Certain crimes, such as murder in the first degree and high treason, are usually excluded. This regulation is as a general rule followed in the various states. Yet reformatories for women have frequently been used as substitutes for state prisons; for instance, the reformatory at Framingham, in Massachusetts, admits women of all ages and without regard for the crime committed or for prior sentences.

4. Distinct from the prisons, but nevertheless of the greatest importance in combating criminality and in the development of penal procedure are, finally, the *training schools*—reforma-

tories for juveniles under sixteen years of age. These are intended, first, for juvenile delinquents, but they receive also—by official order of the criminal court and occasionally, also, as in California, upon request of the family—truants and juveniles who cannot be educated at home or who are otherwise delinquent or neglected. These institutions, therefore, have certain features in common with the German “juvenile prisons”; for the rest, however, they resemble in the main our “Fürsorgeerziehungsanstalten”.

A few general remarks on these four types of institution are necessary by way of introduction.

A

Public opinion in America, in so far as it is guided by the opinion of experts, has long since agreed that the jails constitute the most vulnerable point of the American prison system and are in urgent need of reform. Their shortcomings have been emphasized over and over again, as, for instance, in the stubborn struggle waged by the American Prison Association under the leadership of Dr. Hastings Hart, and by such men as Dr. George Kirchwey,¹ professor of criminology in the University of New York, and J. F. Fishman, who in 1923, on the basis of personal investigation, drew a terrible picture of the jail in his book, *Crucibles of Crime; The Shocking Story of the American Jail*.²

There are no words to describe the almost medieval conditions in these jails. Usually no distinction is made between those who have been sentenced and those who are awaiting trial and who perhaps are innocent of any offense. There is no provision for giving the prisoners adequate work or exercise in the open air. In the matters of light and air, sanitary and hygienic conditions, the cells can without exaggeration be compared to stalls for animals, and at that to the neglected stalls that might have been found in country districts at least half a century ago. Furthermore, in many cities the jails are as a regular thing obliged to receive double and triple the number of inmates that they were built to accommodate.

¹ See *The Survey of the Cook County Jail*. Edited by George Kirchwey. Chicago: The Chicago Community Trust, 1923.

² New York: The Cosmopolis Press, 1923.

And so these cells, which are entirely inadequate for a single person, house from two to four persons, some of whom have to spend the night on the cold stone floor. The rooms where prisoners are housed during the day are called in popular parlance "bull pens". One should see these rooms in New York—where the jail bears the very significant name of "the Tombs"—or in Chicago! From fifty to one hundred persons, of the most varied kinds, are confined here without any occupation, smoking, gossiping, fighting, or else staring at the visitor in appalling depression and dullness.

During the last decade there has been an attempt to remedy some of the worst abuses. Some of the larger cities have established *detention homes* for juveniles and women, with habitable living quarters and provisions for education and recreation, and with a personnel that is conscious of responsibility for the care of the inmates and possessed of the intelligence and character necessary for this work. I carried away a very favorable impression, for example, of the detention home for women in Philadelphia. But on the whole one must say that the jails are in striking contrast to the kind of institution that one has a right to expect of a civilized nation of the twentieth century, and that Americans especially, because of the important part that they have played in the past in the development of an intelligent and social prison system, ought to bestir themselves with far more energy than they have thus far shown to abolish these unworthy conditions.

During my stay in New York at the end of October, the warden and several keepers of the Tombs were murdered by prisoners who had obtained arms. Investigation of this case revealed the abuses that exist in the jail. Prisoners have the right to possess money and to dispose of it even while awaiting trial. Since the keepers are miserably paid, so that to some extent they must seek employment outside of the jail, and since quite a number of private persons are employed in the jail, one can easily imagine how permeated with graft and corruption the institution is. The dangers to society that arise from this state of affairs are immensely increased because of the inadequate guarding of the prisoners and the fact that they are jammed together without any occupation.

All these shortcomings have of course long been known by those in authority. But unfortunately progress in public affairs in America is slow and desultory, depending as it does upon the blind caprices of public opinion, with its susceptibility to the influence of the press and the various political parties, so that radical reform in this as well as in other fields can be brought about only when such scandals as the one just mentioned reveal a situation that is nothing less than intolerable.¹

The present tendency, apart from the provision of new and adequate buildings for prisoners on trial, is toward committing those already sentenced to prisons which are so regulated as to make possible an adequate execution of the sentence. Of prime importance is the introduction of compulsory work for all prisoners. The fact that at the present day there are not only jails, but houses of correction and workhouses and even not a few state prisons² in which it is impossible to provide occupation for all the prisoners is another situation in the category of things American that the European visitor cannot but look upon as disillusioning. Lately a few of the new workhouses for short-term prisoners have been established as "farm prisons". The oldest of these is the Indiana State Farm Prison, which I have visited. It was established in 1915, and has a capacity of 800 prisoners. I was very much pleased with the equipment and spirit of this prison. In many respects it is a model institution for short-term prisoners. The first thing that strikes one is the construction: there are no high walls, no barred windows, no cell blocks. The prisoners sleep in large, well-ventilated dormitories. External hindrances to escape are conspicuous by their absence, but precautions against it are provided by a law of

¹ On the reform of New York City prison conditions, see *Two Reports on the Reorganization and Reconstruction of the New York City Prison System*, by Hastings H. Hart. New York: The Prison Association of New York, 1925.

² The *Handbook of American Prisons, 1926* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926) reports (page 15) that the state prison at Columbus, Ohio, has had for years an "idle company" varying from two to eight hundred persons. During my stay in America the newspapers reported an attempted escape from this prison in which a number of keepers were overpowered. The convicts, the paper naively reported, were "so desperate that they couldn't be put to work"! Among them were many lifers. One can imagine to what acts of violence human beings may be driven who are locked up without work for years or even a lifetime!

the state of Indiana which makes it a special crime, punishable with one year in prison. The equipment of the farm is modern and the prisoners work mostly in the open air, with very little guard and within no enclosure. Industrial work of various kinds is also carried on in simple, but clean shops, which are equipped with modern machines. The rhythm of the work, the attitude of the workers are in no way reminiscent of the routine of prison life. The faces of the prisoners express activity and energy, but show no signs of strain. Throughout, one gets the impression of healthy people who are working vigorously of their own free will.

I received the same favorable impression from the workhouse of the District of Columbia (Washington, D. C.) near Occoquan, which for a number of years has been in process of construction by the prisoners and is not yet completed. Here also there are no walls or other features characteristic of prisons. The buildings are very simply kept, but located as they are in the midst of a hilly region of field and forest, they give one a particularly homelike impression. A third prison of this kind is the Erie County Penitentiary in the state of New York; and a fourth is the Westchester County Penitentiary and Workhouse in White Plains, New York. This latter prison is in structural respects a model of the very first rank as an institution for short-term prisoners. We will return to it later.

B

The development of the state prisons has been influenced unfavorably by a number of factors. First and most serious is the fact that prison officials are not trained for their work and that they are not secure in their positions. The general European evil of failing to regard the occupation of prison official as a profession for which special training and an examination are required is equally characteristic of America. Only very rarely even in the largest institutions are the wardens professional men who had a prison experience of several years before they reached an executive position. There are wardens who have worked their way to the top from the position of keeper. Others are former army officers, and still others have worked on a police force or in some political posi-

tion. For the rest, they come from the most varied professions—business men, lawyers, clergymen, and teachers. Worse than this situation, from which Germany also suffers, is the typically American practice of listing the position of prison official among the jobs that are distributed as prizes for services rendered the party in political struggles. This “spoils system”, which Americans themselves have long combated, still flourishes. In San Quentin—a prison that contains more than three thousand inmates—the unusually capable warden, who had held his position for many years, was in 1925 obliged to give it up solely because it was about to be awarded to the son-in-law of the new governor.¹ I talked with both of these wardens. The present incumbent is a man who has not the slightest idea of the more subtle problems in the field of penology. He is evidently very well satisfied with his institution, which he describes with pride as the “biggest prison in the world” and, on account of the California climate, “the most healthful prison in the world”. Meanwhile, in the matters of lighting and ventilation the cells of this prison are shockingly behind the times.² The former warden, however, who is now a mere employee in a bank, proved to be a man who, with admirable energy, had tried to counteract the effect of the conditions in the institution, so really terrible in some ways, by individual care of the prisoners, and who had, with the help of the University of California, outlined a valuable program of education.³ This incident is a sorry illustration of the words of Henry Wolfer: “Good politics is a necessary function of good government, but bad politics has, I think, done more to retard and destroy good prison administration than all other causes combined.”⁴ As long as such conditions are possible, we need not wonder that we do not find an orderly development of the American prison system or a uniform type of official. The *Handbook*

¹ In justice to the present governor, it should be said that he is not the man referred to here.

² I have in mind here the four old cell blocks, which are still used in conjunction with the new cell house.

³ *Handbook of American Prisons*, p. 129.

⁴ In his paper, *Modern Prison Problems*, before the Thirty-fourth Annual Session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1907. p. 97.

of American Prisons points out that in Wisconsin the warden is engaged for one year only! Only very exceptionally are prison officials entitled to draw a pension, and nowhere have they lifelong employment.

Poor as is the standing of the prison official, the supervision of his activities is equally poor. In some of the larger states, the prison system is grouped along with "charitable and correctional institutions" in a special "Department of Welfare". For the rest, however, the special division of penology is under the supervision of special "boards", directors, or commissioners. Some of these superiors are pure amateurs and dilettantes who know very little about the problems of their department and carry on their jobs in a haphazard fashion, not according to any well-defined plan, but guided by the mood of public opinion. In New York especially, one finds unsavory examples of this type—men who are justly labeled by experts as "hopelessly incompetent". On the other hand, let me emphasize the fact that I also met model directors of prisons. And it was from them that I heard the most bitter complaints of the complexity, unreliability, and instability of American prison administration.

As a result of this backwardness in the matter of legal and administrative apparatus, America is still suffering from certain conditions that have long since been overcome in Europe. It is one of the strange contradictions of this country, in which commercial and public enterprises develop at a pace that takes one's breath away, that in the field of penal law and prisons, a number of institutions have been preserved that are more in accord with the times of the blessed Carpzov than with present-day America. In the larger cities of America one finds few houses or office buildings that are older than a decade, but Auburn Prison dates from 1816, the greater part of Sing Sing from 1825, and the Eastern Penitentiary, in Philadelphia, from 1829, while Charlestown Prison in Massachusetts (which I did not visit)—one of the most archaic plants—dates from the year 1805! There is no justification whatever—indeed, no excuse—for the fact that these prisons are still used to-day for housing human beings. If public opinion, instead of tranquilly awaiting the results of lengthy experiments in new construction, would demand, in justifiable

indignation, the closing of all American prisons ripe for the museum, from old Sing Sing in the East to old San Quentin in the West, the move would be hailed with joy by all humanitarians. Nay, more, society itself would in fact be better safeguarded if all these criminals were to be released at once than it is under the present system—a system that year by year slowly undermines their health, and by stupidly penning them together and, worst of all, enforcing idleness upon them entirely unfits them for life in the community and so tends to make them much more dangerous after their release.

In connection with the antiquated construction of the prisons mention should be made of the inside cells, a feature, fortunately unknown in Europe, which still disfigures most of the old and even some of the new prisons, such as Stillwater in Minnesota. These cells¹ are located in the center of the building; they lie back to back, separated by a "utility corridor", from three to four feet wide, in which the ventilation and plumbing pipes are placed. The space between the outer wall of the building and the front of the cell is often divided into two long corridors—the outer for the use of the keepers only; the inner, which runs next to the cells, for the prisoners. The cells have neither outside windows nor regular doors. They are lighted—often very poorly—by large windows on the corridors. Instead of doors, there are gates of steel bars, which remind one exactly of the cages in an old-fashioned menagerie. From every point of view, these cells are to be condemned. Aside from the fact that the distribution of light, air, and heat to the prisoners is very imperfect and uneven—the lower floor is often dark during the greater part of the day, while some floors are too cold and others too hot—these cells lack all privacy and comfort. The lack of privacy, which exposes the prisoner to constant observation and espionage and gives him the feeling of never being alone, is of course not conducive to a finer sense of self-esteem. This lack of respect toward him as a human being must, in the long run, have a brutalizing and dulling effect upon him. When, in visiting one of the newer prisons, I spoke of these disadvantages of the inside cell, the warden answered: "What do you

¹ See *Prisons and Prison Building*, by Alfred Hopkins. New York and Boston: Rogers and Manson Company, 1918.

want? We have no privacy in Pullmans, either!" One need not comment upon the utter lack of understanding of the requirements of a prison that such an utterance betrays.

But how are these "inhuman and grotesque"¹ inside cells to be explained? They originated at a time when the criminal was looked upon as a dangerous beast, so that the idea of protecting society against attacks and escapes overruled all other considerations. If one were to judge the American character by this form of cell construction, one would have to say that its distinguishing feature was an hysterical fear of the criminal. In Europe the fact has long been recognized that restrictive measures of this sort do not prevent acts of violence—indeed, they occur more frequently in the oldest prisons, which are erected in this Bastille style, than in the modern prisons—but that, first of all, provision must be made for the individual care of especially dangerous psychopathic prisoners, and for the rest such living, working, and sleeping quarters must be provided as will not tend to exaggerate to an abnormal degree feelings of hatred and despair. There must, too, be a large enough staff, made up—most important of all—of people who are familiar with the technique of handling suggestible and emotional characters. As long as the structural conditions of the prisons preclude any possibility of a rational treatment of the prisoners—one that can be adapted to the needs of the individual case and that aims first of all at his reformation—so long will the effort to combat crime in America be a futile struggle.

But it is not only the cells of the American prison that are antiquated. The problem of occupation for the prisoners, which is of prime importance for socially useful results, is also far from a well-planned and rational solution. The Old World, too, as we all know, still wrestles with this problem; we still have in our German prisons much out-of-date, irrationally conducted, poorly utilized labor, much mere "busy work" and very little work indeed that is really instructive and productive. We have, therefore, little reason to be satisfied with the stage of development that we have reached at present. But American conditions—with a few exceptions, which are still to be mentioned—are even further behind the times. In the first

¹ Hopkins, *ibid.*, p. 15.

place, there are American prisons that have not work enough for all their prisoners, and their number—to judge from my own observations and from the excellent handbook already mentioned—is not small. Moreover, the struggle of “free labor” against a rational organization and utilization of prison work has had a particularly disastrous effect in America. The attitude of the labor unions in their struggle against any competition from prison work has imposed on quite a number of states the “state-use system”. According to this system, prison products cannot be sold in the open market, but only by the state to state institutions. On the face of it, this may seem a satisfactory solution of the problem, but it can work only under certain conditions—conditions that provide for a satisfactory disposal of the products—and unfortunately these conditions are lacking. The state—and infinitely more the municipal—government in America is so unwieldy and impractical that it is utterly unfit to carry on any commercial and economic enterprise, such as the state-use system requires.¹

These deficiencies are still further increased by the fact that the idea of remuneration for prisoners has not yet been generally recognized in America. Instead of paying them for their work and thus enabling them to provide for their needy families and to save an emergency fund for the period following their discharge—instead of thus stimulating them to useful and diligent work, the idea has been that such payment would detract from the severity of the punishment and would only mean “coddling” the prisoners and “sentimentality”. There could be no more foolish conception of the matter, none that shows less understanding of the serious implications of the prison problem. But since the phrase “coddling prisoners” and the fear of too great sentimentality are among those American commonplaces that ever and again turn up in the press and in public and private discussion, and since they involve a problem of more general significance, it is well worth while to discuss them briefly here.

Every prison reformer in the world has, of course, encoun-

¹ The question of prison labor can, of course, only be touched upon here. For a comprehensive discussion of the problem see the notable work by Louis Robinson, *Penology in the United States*. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1921.

tered the reproach of sentimentality. Throughout the centuries, since the age of enlightenment first dawned, this reproach has been laid upon those who have sought to wipe out the barbarisms of the old "penal" law—to do away with tortures and mutilations and to restrict and abolish capital punishment. As a matter of fact, however, the very reverse is the case. The clinging to the traditional penal code has been recognized as the after-effect of emotional factors—the emotions of hate and fear, the impulse to revenge and the instinct of self-defense acting under the influence of aroused passion. But the men who advocated a humanization of the penal code—from Beccaria and Frederick the Great to Liszt and E. C. Wines—knew how to keep themselves free from emotional influences and the passions of the moment, and fought for a criminal jurisprudence that would be based upon a rational understanding and evaluation of the causes of criminality and the effects of punishment. Thus it is the advocates of severe, spectacular, and destructive punishments who were, and still are, influenced by "sentiment", not those who advocate a humanization of the penal code.

This is the general historical point of view on the problem. In America, however, the situation is peculiar. My trip afforded me ample opportunity to decide whether Americans have any real reason to talk of a tendency towards sentimentalism in criminal procedure, whether or not there exist actual facts that would indicate the danger of a soft-hearted and "coddling" treatment of criminals. The question must be answered most emphatically in the negative. *Not sentimentality, but, to the mind of the European, an often shocking brutality is characteristic of American criminal procedure and of American prisons.* To give a few examples, sexual attacks on children under ten years of age are punished in a number of American states with life imprisonment. Kirchwey, one of the foremost authorities among American criminologists, reports the case of a juvenile bandit of sixteen who was caught and disarmed before he could act, and although he was a first offender, he was sentenced by a judge in New York to thirty-nine years in Sing Sing.¹

¹ George W. Kirchwey in "Crime Waves and Crime Remedies." *Survey Graphic*, Vol. 55, pp. 593-597, 634, March, 1926. The article itself is well worth reading.

I came across equally barbarous punishments repeatedly in prisons; offenses that in England or Germany would have been punished by a maximum sentence of from one to five years in America resulted in terms of from thirty to forty years. Even in recent years very young criminals have been executed at Sing Sing—a young man of nineteen and even a boy of sixteen.

In the "Death House" at Sing Sing—i.e., the cells for those who are under sentence of death—all work is forbidden; the inmates are left in these cells for a year as a general rule, occasionally even for two and three years, since the examination of the sentence for possible judicial errors in the proceedings often takes as long as that. Reprieve by the governor occurs very rarely: 97 per cent of those sentenced are executed. On the very night before our visit at the prison of Canyon City, Colorado, there had been an execution. The warden told me that the case was that of a man who was "unquestionably insane", and said that he had tried in vain to get a change of verdict. At that this warden has a sad reputation for special cruelties at his prison.¹

One should read the affecting novel by Theodore H. Dreiser, *An American Tragedy*, which portrays with biographical exactitude the progress of a juvenile murderer to the electric chair.² Even if one believes in capital punishment, one would certainly find the very opposite of sentimentality in the criminal process here described and in the refusal of reprieve in a case that in Germany would never have led to execution. Mention should be made also of the valuable compilations of the National Society of Penal Information and the reports of Frank Tannenbaum, *Wall Shadows; A Study in American Prisons*.³ They tell of a cruelty in disciplinary treatment—prisoners locked up in dark cells, chained, and otherwise mistreated—that would not seem out of place in a prison of the

¹ See "'Send Them Up'—To What? First-hand Views of American Prisons", by Austin H. MacCormick, in the above quoted *Survey Graphic* (pp. 598-601, 634), and Bulletin No. 8 of the National Society of Penal Information: *The Colorado Report* (New York: The National Society of Penal Information, 1925). This warden certainly is free from any suspicion of sentimentality!

² This novel has been dramatized. I saw an excellent performance of the play in New York. I have never seen an audience so moved.

³ New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922.

Middle Ages. Finally there are the cruel and inhuman conditions in the jails, and unfortunately also in several of the state prisons, such as Sing Sing and San Quentin, with their unhygienic cells and their failure to provide work for the prisoners.

C

A few general remarks should be made on the subject of the development of the reformatories also. When these institutions were established—in the '70's of the last century—the contrast between them and all other penal institutions was sharply marked. The jail and the state prison stood for retaliation and intimidation, the reformatory for reformation—that is, the transformation by means of education of an asocial or antisocial individual into a useful, socially minded member of society. In the report of the Board of Managers of the Elmira Reformatory for 1925 we read (page 10): “When the reformatory was started, half a century ago, the difference between it and a purely penal institution was well marked. In a penal institution the primary object was punishment; everything else was incidental. In the new reformatory institution the primary object was to be the changing of the character of the criminal. Punishment would be incidental to the process, but only one of many means adopted for the purpose.”

Since that time the distinction between the reformatory and the penal institution has largely disappeared. To-day even in a purely penal institution the educational purpose should be dominant; it is no longer in any way incidental in a prison—at least in theory; in practice, of course, in America as well as in Germany, this ideal is still far from realization.

What, then, is the distinction between the two types of institution to-day? The Elmira Report for 1925, already quoted, says (page 11): “Most penal institutions have borrowed some reformatory ideas and the difference between the two is not as great as it formerly was, but still there is a difference. Perhaps as good a way as any to express it is that a prison deals with men *collectively* while a reformatory deals with them *individually*.”

“Expressing the same idea in a different way—in a prison

an effort is made to make the prisoner fit the institution; in a reformatory an effort is made to make the institution fit the prisoner."

The question whether this distinction should be maintained from the general criminological point of view will not be discussed here. What we have to show here is that in actual practice the development has been in another direction. While it has brought the prison closer to the reformatory, it has to a still greater degree stamped upon the reformatory the character of the prison.

When Elmira was established, it was the first—and in fact the only—institution devoted to the reform of real "first offenders".¹ That is no longer the case to-day. The juvenile who for the first time comes into serious conflict with the penal law is not referred to prison, but gets "probation under suspended sentence". Private, church, and community organizations (the Big Brother and Big Sister movement, Boy Scouts, and child-welfare organizations) interest themselves in his reform during his probation period. There are, besides, "reform or training schools" which accept juvenile criminals. And since American criminal judges do not know much more about the execution of a sentence than their colleagues in Germany, but at least are sufficiently informed of the shortcomings of the jails and other institutions of the kind in their country, they fight shy, with reason, of sentencing a juvenile to "prison" as long as it can possibly be avoided. The consequence of this, however, is that to-day there is really no qualitative difference at all between the inmates of a reformatory and those of a state prison (or jail). When a sentence to a reformatory is imposed, one is, in fact, no longer dealing with a first offender, but with an individual who has a quite considerable delinquent career behind him.² In the matter of the types of crime involved, there is no difference at all

¹ This development is distinctly emphasized in the *Report of the Prison Survey Committee* (Albany: State of New York, 1920), pp. 360 ff.

² The following figures are taken from the Elmira report for 1925 (page 52): 16 per cent of 4,500 Elmira inmates (from July 1, 1919 to June 30, 1925) had been in a reform school once before; 8 per cent had been twice before in a reformatory; 22 per cent had been once, 6 per cent twice, and 4 per cent three times, on probation; 18 per cent had been arrested three times, 11 per cent four times, and 2 per cent nine or more times.

between the inmates of a prison and those of a reformatory. Offenses by no means minor often lead to a sentence to a reformatory. Of 609 cases that the Prison Survey Committee of 1920 lists as new admissions, 228 were for burglary, 76 for assault, 33 for rape or attempted rape, and 34 for robbery. "Those who are familiar with prison conditions know that many a murderer in our prisons would be shocked by the long habits and the records of many of the present Elmira group or any of the groups likely to be sent there under the present system of commitments to reformatories."¹ Finally there is no longer any difference in age between the inmates of a prison and those of Elmira. This fact was brought out by a survey of the age groups. At the congress of the American Prison Association which I attended, one of the speakers (Cooley) pointed out that 45 per cent of the prisoners in Sing Sing are eighteen years old, while he claims that the majority of the inmates are not older than from twenty-one to twenty-four years.² He said that this very fact that the more serious crimes are committed by young people is the alarming feature of the crime situation in America. Whether this conclusion is really valid will not be discussed here. It might very well be that on account of the over-excited state of general public opinion and the very widespread belief in the existence of an alarming "crime wave"³ at the present time, the judges in recent years have been more inclined to refer juveniles to state prisons than to the reformatories. In any case the tendency of the state prison and the reformatory to approach each

¹ *Report of the Prison Survey Committee*, p. 360.

² Here are some exact percentages based upon figures from the *Handbook of American Prisons*: Of the prison population of Sing Sing as of June 30, 1925, 41 per cent were under twenty-four, and 24.6 per cent between twenty-five and twenty-nine (p. 442). Of the prisoners received at San Quentin during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924, 43 per cent were under twenty-four and 20 per cent from twenty-five to twenty-nine (p. 123). Compare these figures with those given in the 1925 Elmira report (p. 64): from sixteen to twenty years, 54.6 per cent; from twenty-one to twenty-five, 34 per cent; from twenty-six to thirty years, 11 per cent.

³ Authorities such as Dr. Kirchwey, in the article already mentioned (note 1, page 240), and Clarence Darrow in an article in *Harper's Magazine*, October, 1926—"Crime and the Alarmists"—deny on good grounds the existence of such a "crime wave". The increase in several types of crime may be explained by new laws, especially those passed on account of prohibition. In others—for instance, the violations of traffic rules—the increase in offenses is conceivably the sequel of an enormously increased automobile traffic.

other in character has led to the present situation, in which a great number of the reformatories are distinguishable from prisons in name only.

III

Before I come to the general conclusions that I reached as a result of my observations, I might mention the institutions that I visited and discuss each briefly.

In the state of New York, I visited the following:

Jails

The Tombs in New York City

The Westchester County Penitentiary and Workhouse,
White Plains

The Erie County Penitentiary near Buffalo

Prisons

Auburn

Sing Sing

Reformatories

Elmira Reformatory

Training schools

The Children's Village

The Hawthorne School.

I shall begin with Elmira—with the old Elmira that spread abroad an idea literally throughout the world, and that for all time will stand as one of the splendid achievements of the American nation; a prison that had no other aim than the transformation of young criminals into good citizens, that was based upon the ideal of education—not education subordinated to considerations of retaliation and the protection of society, but education as a main principle, the dominant motive in *all* the policies of its officials. "This is the Mecca of the world", the present superintendent of the institution, Dr. F. L. Christian, said to us, and it was something of that spirit that moved me as I approached the castlelike building imposingly situated on a hill. As I left, however, I was seized with a strong feeling of depression; for I had realized, in the first place, that architecturally the institution is out of accord with its avowed purpose, and, secondly, that it has fallen behind in its development, so far behind that at present it is

nothing better than a poor prison, not in any sense a model educational establishment.

As to the first point, I need only state that this world-famous reformatory has the terribly antiquated "inside cells" and the big cell block. This does away with any possibility of privacy for the prisoners and, more important still, any individualization in the treatment of the 1,200 inmates, any segregation of those particularly difficult to educate, of imbeciles, of psychopaths, and of the morbidly emotional; the only means available are the fifty-six "punishment cells", with the further infliction of "bread and water". Even the "cold douche" is still used as a disciplinary measure.

In connection with the second point, mention should be made of the destructive effect of legislation passed by the state of New York. Since 1888 productive work of any kind has been prohibited in the penal institutions of the state; work is permitted only for purposes of instruction and practice. The inmate "makes a model in wood, iron, or other appropriate material, which illustrates a mechanical principle. Brick walls are built up from the floor for a few feet and then are knocked down, the mortar removed, and the bricks laid up again. Fireplaces are laid out on the floor and built up a few feet and then knocked down. Models of window frames are worked out, and then broken up."¹ Needless to say such work can have no educational value, and teachers as well as pupils take part in it without spontaneity or interest.

The influence of this short-sighted policy, which in fact costs the state very dear, is evident in Elmira in other respects as well. Elmira has no permanently employed staff of instructors. The instruction in the various classes is given by inmates. "They understand the prisoners better", the superintendent explained in justification of this method. But it is obvious that this is a very poor argument. For teaching in any school, and above all in the school of a reformatory, more than mere knowledge is necessary—one needs a gift for teaching and mental and spiritual maturity! An inmate might happen to have the first requisite, though that of course would always be a matter of chance. But will even an inmate so qualified be able to make full use of his teaching ability,

¹ *Report of the Prison Survey Committee*, p. 362.

depressed and sensitive as he must be in his situation, the more so, indeed, just because of his higher intellectual level? Will he have enough interest in his task to give his pupils the intensive, individual attention they need? And even given all these qualities, a teacher's work is worth while only if he can set an example as a human being, and that he will never be able to do if he is his pupils' companion in misery, and has the same, or perhaps even a worse, record of delinquency.

Generally speaking, the system of education in Elmira is very much out of date. Methods have been retained which in the 70's of the last century seemed to have promise, but which to-day are considered quite inadequate by our best pedagogues on both sides of the ocean.

In Elmira the old, rigid, deadening spirit of the military system rules. "I believe in military drill", Dr. Christian told us. We were there at the time of the military parade, and saw the spectacle that once made such a strong impression on Freudenthal. We all agreed that its educational value was doubtful in the highest degree. The mere fact that twice a week the general public has free admittance to these exercises would make one sceptical. One saw women enticingly dressed, half-grown young men and girls, small children, and all that element which collects wherever anything is shown that attracts curiosity. Any one who is not blinded by appearances easily recognizes the superficiality of the method here used, for any group of young people, however poor their physical and mental status, can be trained to an accurate execution of drill movements. But to stand at attention upon command and to move with military briskness and precision unfortunately do not in any way further the task that a reformatory is supposed to achieve—that of changing the attitude of the individual, so that he will endeavor to adjust himself to the social order from an inner sense of responsibility and without word of command. The more time and energy that an educational institution spends in drilling the mass to an outward conformity to discipline, the less will it be able to accomplish in the way of transforming the individual from within. Especially if one considers how many psychopathic and mentally deficient individuals have to be drilled for this parade! The really progressive training schools in

America have come to realize that the results of the military drill are purely temporary; that so far as concerns the real task of education, it is a sham; that it does not reach the inner character, but at the most can create a mere illusion of conformity to external discipline, which will last only as long as the period of imprisonment.

That in other respects, also, the Elmira of to-day does not accomplish anything in the way of inner reconstruction, and cannot accomplish it, is shown by the fact that the prisoners are locked up in their cells as early as six o'clock in the evening, and have to stay there until six in the morning.¹ And finally, we hear general complaints about the lack of officers; foremen have to be employed as supervisors and all clerical work is done by prisoners.

"Elmira was a beautiful dream!" "Elmira is not a reformatory, but just an ordinary prison." These were opinions that I heard from especially qualified experts. I must admit that they were justified, as well as the malicious word play of a former inmate: "Elmira Reformatory is situated on a bluff and runs on the same plan."

I will omit a more detailed description of Auburn and Sing Sing. In such matters as cells, organization of work, and education and classification of the prisoners, both are absolutely out of date. The condition of the cells in Sing Sing is described in the letter of a prisoner to the governor of the state, which the Prison Association of New York, with commendable frankness, published in its report for 1925.² I am sorry to state that, judging from my own personal impressions, this account is in no way exaggerated.

Two things in these institutions are valuable, however: the idea of self-government and the new building at Sing Sing—the "classification prison-clinic" or "clearing house"—which is ready, but not yet in use.³ We will speak of these two later.

¹ This time was given to me. In the 1925 report already quoted, in an article that is very characteristic of the superficiality of the institution—*A Day in the College on the Hill*, by one of the Collegians—half-past five is given as the time of locking up; until nine the inmates can occupy themselves in the cells.

² This letter is reprinted as an appendix to the present article, pages 314-15.

³ On the building one reads the inscription: "In this building Science and Charity and Thrift join hands to help the prisoner and the people. *Nihil humani nobis alienum.*"

When one comes from Sing Sing or Auburn to the Westchester County Penitentiary, one has the sensation of coming from darkness into light. The construction of this prison breaks away from the usual American traditions. In place of the old monumental towers and battlements, which are thought to teach fear and respect to the peaceful citizen outside, we find a simple, artistic structure, which from without would by no means give the impression of a "house of the cheerless". The history of penology leaves no doubt that a penal institution can never succeed by appealing to fear, that it never functions by means of its outward appearance, but can be of positive benefit only through what is accomplished within in the way of mental, moral, and social work. "To build an entire penitentiary on the basis of its worst possible inmate is nonsense", says the prison architect, Alfred Hopkins, in his very remarkable monograph *Prisons and Prison Building* (page 7).¹ "It never has and it never will produce a good prison." It is that point of view that leads to the erection of high walls, watch towers, inside cells, and large cell blocks. One can perhaps prevent the escape of prisoners by such devices—though escapes do occur ever and again from these old walled monsters—but that is only a negative result which can be attained much more efficiently through less material means. And these structures based upon compulsion and mechanical safety devices make impossible constructive educational work based upon the needs of the individual. A prison must, above all, be so organized that *the individuality of each separate prisoner can be taken into account*. In the construction of a prison or a correctional institution, therefore, some such provision should be made as one finds in the Westchester County Penitentiary, the newer part of Sing Sing, and the properly organized reformatories and training schools (Clinton Farm, Framingham, Sleighton Farm, Whittier State School)—that is, there should be a special receiving cottage or a general reception building into which each individual committed is placed upon admission. Here a scientific diagnosis should be made of the problem presented, a diagnosis

¹ For reference, see note 1, page 237.

based upon a careful study of the individual case and its history, including medical, psychiatric, psychological, and pedagogical examinations as well as an investigation of the biological and social background. Such records, of course, are of value only when they are made by experts and when consideration is given to all the factors that may throw light upon the whole development of the prisoner, not merely upon the particular crime for which he was committed. These records are then used as the basis for a *classification* of the individual case and an appropriate educational program. Here, again, small buildings and cottages in the pavilion style are absolutely indispensable. Since the aim is education for life outside—not for life within prison walls—the *prison life* should be made, to quote from Hopkins, “*as near normal as possible*”. Away, then, with mass quarters in cell blocks, away with watch towers and elaborate mechanical restraints! Each prisoner has a cell of his own, furnished simply, but as a room to be lived in, with a window and a door that can be closed.

There is no need to go into the details of construction at the Westchester County institution. One gets a general impression of air and light, of a spirit of order and purposeful life. Seventy-nine per cent of the prisoners—they serve short terms, from five days up to one year—have the privilege of self-government. The officials, who are not in uniform, in contrast to those of Sing Sing, Auburn, and Elmira, have the look of human beings who are engaged in intelligent and hopeful work.

The two training schools—the Children’s Village in Dobbs Ferry, New York, and the Hawthorne School near New York City—are institutions rich in suggestions. A detailed account of them would be beside the purpose of this study. Both are excellent, alike in their organization, their officials, and their spirit. Children’s Village¹ is, as Edmund Dwight, president of the board of directors, states in the report for 1925,² “not a reformatory, but rather a ‘creatory’ of honest man-

¹ The same principles prevail at the Hawthorne School, though this latter institution has to meet special problems owing to the fact that it deals entirely with Jewish boys, most of whom are of Russian origin.

² Seventy-fourth Annual Report of the Children’s Village, 1926. p. 12.

hood". This aim of reconstructing the lives of these delinquent and neglected youngsters and bringing them to a higher level is realized, first, by the avoidance of all repressive measures, based upon compulsion and fright, and then by a positive attempt to obtain a hold upon the inner selves of the children and to win their allegiance to the life of the institution. The living quarters of the boys are real homes. The surroundings, the gardens, the playgrounds, the schoolrooms, and the workshops, are such as to arouse the boys' pleasure and interest by creating an atmosphere of graciousness and harmony, entirely foreign to the previous experience of most of them. The boys are friendly, happy, enthusiastic, and lively.¹ Of course, they are sometimes impulsive, thoughtless, and noisy, but serious disturbances of order occur more and more rarely.² The community life is regulated by a self-governing body of the boys. They elect from each cottage one member, who represents the group in all matters of common welfare. This council as a whole "supports" the general administration of the institution, makes reports upon the conduct and progress of the groups represented by them, and brings before the director or his assistants all suggestions for improvement. On Saturday of each week a court session is held to deal with the disciplinary cases that have come up during the preceding week. An appeal from the decisions of the "court" can be made to the director, but it is a testimony to the practicability of the court that so far no such appeal has been made.

Of course such a student council can function only if the officials of the institution are capable of guiding and directing educational work of this type—work that begins within. That is the case in both institutions to a very remarkable degree. In the first place, provision is made for an adequate staff of officials. Whereas in most American institutions the staff is very often much too small, we have here approximately one

¹ That training schools, in the interest of their task, should stress such things as these is now realized in the more modern institutions in Germany also. I have in mind in this connection the institution of my pupil, Dr. Walter Herrmann in Egendorf, Thüringia. But there are still institutions in our country that are based entirely upon the "pray-and-work" principle—"the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom"—and that have, therefore, much the same atmosphere as a "house of refuge".

² See report already quoted, p. 31.

official to every six boys. And the supervision of each separate group—thirty separate cottages, with not more than twenty boys in each—the work of the instructors in the schools and in the shops, the diagnosis of the individual make-up (physical, psychological, and social) of each boy, are all entrusted to specially qualified persons. The teachers, the psychologist, and the heads of the separate cottages are women. (Very good; German training schools should adopt this idea.) Besides the executive superintendent, Leon C. Faulkner, there is also a director of education—Calvin Derrick, a man who throughout America enjoys a very well deserved reputation as an educator of the first rank, and who for years has been directing practical educational work in prisons (Sing Sing, the Westchester County Penitentiary), and in training schools. He is the dean of the National Training School for Institution Executives and Other Workers, which is carried on in connection with the institution. This school aims to give training and postgraduate work as a preparation for positions in training schools or in other fields of social welfare. The courses, which vary in length from a few weeks to a year, cover the entire field, extensive and rich in problems as it is: the development of the child within the family and the school, at work and at play; the points of view that must be considered in a training school in the matters of medical care, classification, and technique of treatment; manual and vocational education and the principles involved therein; the psychology of education, with special emphasis upon the various types in the intellectual, emotional, and volitional fields; the theory and practice of social welfare in all its branches and ramifications. This school will give information to social workers on any problem in the entire field, and aims, moreover, to be a "clearing bureau" for the training of a "qualified personnel".¹ Such an institution, carefully planned and carried out from both the theoretical and the practical point of view, is a necessity for Germany also if we are to advance from our present

¹ See *Qualified Personnel, 1926*, by Calvin Derrick (a paper delivered before the American Prison Association in Pittsburgh, 1926, and published in pamphlet form separate from the proceedings) and *The National Training School for Institutional Executives and Other Workers—Announcement of Courses, 1926*, p. 27.

stage of experimental dilettantism to a truly scientific treatment of the problems involved.

I want to emphasize particularly the care that is given to the study of the individual child. A "classification committee", consisting of the psychologist, the physician, the head of the school, the director of the welfare department, and a representative of the social workers, makes a detailed and complete investigation of each newcomer within the first two weeks after his admission. The findings on family conditions and on school life, the court proceedings, and the results of the observations made in the institution, are all compiled in a general report. The executive superintendent and the director of education are included in the weekly conferences of this committee. Here the problems of the individual case are thoroughly studied, and the best treatment is outlined for cottage, school, and handicraft work—but only for a few weeks ahead; then the case comes up again for revision. Special consideration is given to intellectually gifted and to subnormal children. Children who are suffering from serious psychopathic conditions, and who are found to be unable to follow the usual educational course, are housed in a special cottage over which a particularly gifted Swiss psychiatrist has unlimited authority. He lives with these thirty or forty children, and his sole endeavor is to find out what gives them pleasure in the way of instruction, work, and play. If such an interest is found, a further course of work is usually an easy matter. For the rest, he endeavors to bring the children physically and mentally to a higher level by means of the longest possible hours of sleep, good, but not heavy food, and, above all, constant sympathetic care and friendliness.

In the state of New Jersey, I visited the small state prison, which employs its 120 prisoners in road construction. The prisoners are cared for in primitive fashion in a "road camp", watched by twelve guards.

Of more importance were the two reformatories—Clinton Farm for women and Rahway for male prisoners.

Clinton Farm, though it calls itself a reformatory, is in fact a women's prison, with no limitations as to age. One inmate was sixty-three years old upon admission. In spite of this, the place is essentially planned for young people. The insti-

tution, which is under the direction of Miss Cornelia Lounsbury, made a particularly favorable impression. Here, again, we find the receiving cottages, in which all new admissions are kept under observation and medical care for at least two weeks. Four Wassermann tests are made on each inmate, and girls suffering from acute venereal disease are kept segregated in the hospital, until, on the basis of careful observations, transfer to one of the cottages is considered safe. In the cottages the progressive system rules, combined with self-government. The girls in the highest "honor group" aid to a quite considerable extent in the administration of the institution.

The reformatory at Rahway is one of the oldest in the country, and is therefore structurally inadequate in the matter of cells and provisions for individualized treatment. The director of the institution is a distinguished theologian, Dr. Frank Moore,¹ who has held the position for eighteen years. "When I came here and had been in the institution for a year, I thought that I knew the problems. To-day I realize that the longer I am here, the more new problems will arise. Of my six hundred prisoners (of all kinds, murderers included) each presents an individual problem." These words showed me that Dr. Moore belongs among those directors who realize the deep-lying and far-reaching implications of their task, and therefore are saved from rigidity of technique and from the self-satisfaction of the routinist. With gratitude and interest I think back on the Sunday I spent with this splendid man, so rich in ideas. In the afternoon, upon his request, I spoke in the church to the "young men". After me spoke a member of the "Friends' Assembly", a group of distinguished citizens from the neighborhood, who are interested in the reformatory, and who visit it regularly, summer and winter, at least once a week, and earnestly and successfully try to secure work for those who are released. The members come into personal contact with "the boys" and keep in touch with them after their release. One of them has invited from thirty

¹ See his book, *Off the Beaten Road; A Study of the Character of the Offender and Society's Duty Toward Him, Together with Discussions to Help Him to Establish a Normal Moral Manhood*. Rahway, New Jersey: The Reformatory Printing Office, 1926.

to forty boys to his own home. I wish there were such an institution in Hamburg. Naturally Dr. Moore considers this work a valuable supplement to his efforts in the interests of society.

In other respects, also, the institution had quite definite advantages over Elmira. In the first place, the work that is done in the shops is real work, not work done merely for purposes of demonstration. Then actual instruction is given by teachers employed for the purpose—among them college graduates. Satisfactory work and good behavior lead to a shortening of the sentence. There is promotion in three grades. Those in the best grade are sent to a farm, where they do agricultural work with very little supervision before their release. In the case of escape from the institution—1 per cent a year—a sentence of an additional year is imposed.

Two defects in the institution should be mentioned: First, talking is not allowed in the dining room during meals, because of an incident that occurred two years ago when a complaint about the food led to a riot. This in itself reveals the second defect, which is that the spirit of the educational system here is quite out of date, being based upon the principles of obedience, submission, didactic moral preaching, and habituation to prescribed work. There is no self-government and no attempt to stimulate initiative and independence. "They must be taught what is right, and they must be taught how to do it."¹ Therefore, this is an institution which is ruled by a well-meaning, but still essentially *didactic spirit*; so that inmates as well as officials give the impression of rigid routine, of clockwork, without imagination, individuality, or spontaneity.

In the state of Illinois I visited two institutions in the city of Chicago: the municipal jail—a cheerless place where prisoners awaiting trial are carelessly herded together—and a house of correction, with fair provisions for short-term prisoners.² Besides attending an interesting session of the Boys' Court, and visiting the Psychopathic Laboratory, which is connected with the municipal court (the director of the laboratory is

¹ Moore, *ibid.*, p. 56: *Teaching as a Means of Setting Offenders Right.*

² See *The House of Correction of the City of Chicago, A Retrospect, 1871-1921.* Compiled from original records, reports and files, and other sources of information, by G. A. Claussenius, Chief Clerk.

Dr. William J. Hickson, a psychiatrist), I made the interesting acquaintance of Albert Wehde, who deserves mention in any prison report.

An American of German origin, he ran away while young from a German school and from home, and sought a career in the new world, finding it eventually, after many hardships and failures, as a craftsman and a journalist in Chicago. Passionate love for Germany and the old urge toward adventure led him to organize an expedition on his own hook, with no lesser aim than to arouse the native population of India against England. His success was such that an American court sentenced him, at the end of the war, to two years in prison. He had to serve nine months in the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, until he was pardoned. In his book, *Since Leaving Home*,¹ which has been translated into German, he gives an account of his adventurous life and his impressions of this overcrowded, poorly equipped, and badly managed prison. It is a description worth reading by any criminologist. He wrote also a second work, *Finger Prints Can Be Forged*,² based upon a discovery to which he was led through communications with other prisoners there. Finger prints at the site of a crime, according to his observations, can be forged and then be used unjustly as a means of identifying a defendant. In a trial he succeeded as an expert in obtaining the acquittal of a prisoner indicted for murder, by proving that the identity alleged by the police and the prosecuting attorney to exist between the finger prints of the defendant and those found at the site of the crime was due to the fact that the latter had been forged. I myself cannot pass any judgment upon the value of this discovery. The head of the identification service in Berlin, Dr. Schneickert, in a paper in the *Polizei*, has very sharply repudiated as dilettantism these assertions of Wehde. The head of the identification service in San Francisco, however, evidently an expert, who had no knowledge whatever of Wehde and his book, upon my questioning him, fully confirmed Wehde's finding. He himself, in his wide experience, had come across cases in which, upon

¹ Chicago: The Tremonia Publishing Company, 1923.

² By Albert Wehde and J. N. Beffel. Chicago: The Tremonia Publishing Company, 1924.

careful examination, the forging of finger prints could be established.

The meeting with Wehde was of great interest to me in still another way. He is very familiar with the grave political corruption that, especially in Chicago, has resulted from prohibition. Police officials and even attorneys have connections as intimate as they are dangerous with the agents of the prohibited alcohol traffic, the so-called "bootleggers". These bootleggers buy protection for themselves, so that even if they are caught and prosecution is begun, the proceedings come to nothing. On several occasions actual battles with machine guns have taken place between the police and bootleggers. At the end of April, 1926, an assistant state attorney, MacSwiggin, and two of his companions were shot by such gangsters. The assassins have not been discovered, but other things have been—namely, the vast web of illegal connections between officials and the splendidly organized—and unfortunately also splendidly financed—underworld. The well-known American magazine, *Liberty*, has reported the whole affair in detail in a rather sensational fashion.¹ The facts, however, I have been told, were given accurately.

I saw also the new state prison, Joliet, in Stateville, Illinois. This prison has gained a certain fame through the fact that a "new structural project" is being carried out here. The "newness" consists in a return to the old panopticon plan of Bentham. There are to be eight circular cell houses, each with 248 cells arranged in four tiers. In the center of each building is a watch tower, from which the opening and locking of the cells is controlled and from which all that takes place in the cells can (theoretically) be seen. The cells are outside cells, and therefore have windows, although these are very small and poorly lighted.² The front of the cell is of "wire glass". So far only three of these round structures have been completed; a fourth was under construction at the time of my visit. Connected with the prison are 2,193 acres of farm land. The prison is surrounded by a gigantic wall, thirty-three feet high, which encloses 64 acres. From each tier of

¹ Under the title *The Machine-Gunning of MacSwiggin*, by Sidney Sutherland. July 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, and August 7, 1926.

² The *Handbook of American Prisons* mentions (page 192) that the sunlight reaches the cells directly for only two hours a day.

cells a roofed corridor leads to a central building—the “mess hall”. Here the meals are eaten at eight enormous tables in the style of the American cafeteria. In the center of the hall there is an elevated platform for the band; the prisoners eat in silence, but the orchestra provides entertainment. The hall serves at the same time for church services and for recreation (moving pictures). There is also a field for baseball and handball. The cell houses have immense glass roofs.

In Joliet the “progressive-merit system”, conceived by the former warden, Whitman, will be used, but it can be put into effect in full only after the completion of all the buildings. There are to be five grades, based upon general behavior and performance of work; for transfer into a higher grade, a certain number of points are required; misconduct or poor work results in a loss of points. Each month the prisoners who are denied promotion are to be told by the director (or his representative), the psychiatrist, and the physician, how they have failed, and advice as to how to do better is given. Each newcomer begins in Grade C. Promotion to the higher grades is accompanied by an increase of privileges. The cells here are built for several persons (from three to seven), so that the prisoners can get used to community life. The highest grade will mean work on the farm, which, though enclosed, is otherwise so arranged that the prisoners have an unusual amount of freedom; they live in cottages and have very little supervision. Good behavior and promotion lead to a shortening of the sentence and release on parole. The hospital, which is very completely equipped, serves at the same time as a receiving station for the carrying out of psychological tests—to be used as a basis for decisions in regard to work, discipline, parole, or discharge—and exact psychiatric information. The work is for the prisoners’ own needs (shoemaking, tailoring) and for the state’s institutions. The prisoners are not paid for their work. There are no special schoolrooms.

Joliet has been praised in America as a vast improvement and an innovation of great promise for the future. And there are to-day still many Americans who believe that this new institution is an admirable work of prison reform. The experts, however, according to my observations, are fully aware that the whole idea has been a deplorable failure. Certainly,

in lighting, ventilation, and heating, the cells are a decided improvement over those of Sing Sing, Auburn, and San Quentin. For the rest, however, the whole system, in its structural arrangement with all that this entails, indicates that its designer knew very little about the requirements of a prison that is really adequate to its task. The round-house cells alone are ridiculous. The man in the watch tower cannot possibly watch the 248 cells. He would have to turn around continually in a circle, and even then it would be impossible for him to oversee at all adequately the four tiers with their living contents.¹ The tyro and the layman may admire such a system of mass management as a triumph of organization. The expert, however, realizes very soon that the result can be only a machine—that an organization which handles each prisoner intelligently and justly according to his own individual needs is impossible under such conditions. The only question, therefore, is whether the functioning of this great machine will be efficient—that is, inhuman and despotic—or so lax that corruption and graft will very soon prove to be stronger than the progressive-merit system. This, indeed, has already happened. With its structure not yet completed, the prison has already had a “case”. In May, 1926, Deputy Warden Klein was killed by seven prisoners who escaped! One can see from this that high walls, however strongly they may be secured by armed guards, are no real safeguard so long as the officials have no other hold upon the prisoners and are themselves guilty of graft and violations of duty. A prison can never protect society by means of walls and firearms if no provision is made for controlling the prisoners through their morale; and that kind of control is impossible without a plant and a technique that permits a separation of the prisoners into small groups. Four tiers of cells will counteract anything in the way of education and individual treatment that a progressive-merit system may seek to accomplish. A progressive system under which the progress of the prisoners is entrusted to the guidance and direction of subordinate officials, who are on duty eleven and a half hours a day,² can

¹ The overseer himself told us that he could not determine where even quite flagrant misconduct occurred in the cells.

² *Handbook of American Prisons*, p. 193.

lead only to a lifeless illusion of accomplishment. So it is significant that in no other American prison that I visited did the officials complain so openly about the impossibility of carrying out their task, because of the unsuitability of the whole plant, as they did in this "model prison", Joliet.

The absence of any uniform governing principles in American prison administration and the naïve overestimation of mere size—they have the highest buildings, the biggest trees, the largest prisons—has led another state to imitate Joliet—in fact, to go it one better. In the state of Michigan the old prison in Jackson—built in 1850—is to be replaced by a new prison three miles away from the city, which was begun in 1925 and is supposed to be finished within six years. This new prison, which will cost six million dollars,¹ is designed for 5,510 prisoners—five thousand, five hundred, and ten!—and is described as "a model penal institution", "built on a scientific principle".²

The director of this new prison, who also supervises the construction, is Harry L. Hulburt, a man who rose from the rank of workman and who evidently has great skill in all technical and mechanical matters. Unfortunately, however, I could detect in him no faintest trace of insight into the mental, psychological, and pedagogical problems of penology. With the childish pleasure of the technician, he tried ever and again to arouse our admiration for the size and elaborate detail of the "indestructible" safeguards, external as well as internal, in the five-tiered cell blocks. The encircling wall (which of course is "the highest prison wall in the United States"—34 feet, 3 inches) he called "a masterpiece of art", and added that the gigantic auditorium will have 3,500 seats, that 64 acres will be enclosed by "the wall", that 20 acres will be reserved for sports and games, that shops will be constructed, and so forth. There is no use in going into details here. It is planned, however, to carry out in the living (outside cells with windows), work, and recreation quarters, a classification into four different groups; but there

¹ It is being built mainly by prisoners. If free laborers were to do the work, it would cost nine million dollars.

² *The Jacksonian*, a monthly publication of the Chamber of Commerce of Jackson, in its issue of June, 1926, gives a brief description of the construction, with illustrations.

is no reason to believe that this and other efforts along the same line will be of much consequence. The obvious danger in so huge an institution, as the *Handbook* very justly points out (page 299), is that "the human element may be completely submerged . . . The main purpose of a prison is to produce law-abiding citizens. There is always danger in our giant industrial prisons of losing sight of this fact. How man-production and material-production can be developed together is one of the great prison problems of to-day!"

In the state prison at Stillwater, Minnesota, we saw an example of an industrial prison of the first rank. This prison was completed in 1914 at a cost of two and one-half million dollars, and contained, at the time of our visit, 1,228 prisoners. The plant is indeed impressive in the beauty and orderliness of its arrangement. A corridor runs through the whole prison, from the administration building at the entrance to the service building at the rear. From this corridor two large cell buildings branch out, and then a building, one wing of which contains a laundry and bath equipment, and the other wing the office of the deputy warden and the isolation and punishment cells. In the next building there is a dining room and auditorium that serves for church and entertainment purposes. Connected with the dining room are kitchen, bakery, storerooms and cold-storage rooms. At the end of the encircling wall arise two enormous shops: a spinning mill for the production of twine, and a shop for agricultural machines, in which rakes, mowing machines, binders, and similar implements are manufactured. The finished products can be shipped directly by rail. There is also a printing shop. A small one-story hospital (198 patients a year, with only four attendants) is surrounded by a pleasant garden with a hot-house. There is a large field for baseball and other sports, a power house, and excellent living quarters for officials, and in the immediate neighborhood of the prison there are no fewer than five large farms, covering 1,100 acres. The cell blocks unfortunately have inside cells without windows—the single cell, well equipped, is 10 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 8 feet high—but since the building is covered with an enormous glass roof with steel supports, the cells are flooded with light.

Stillwater pays its prisoners for their work; the average

pay for the individual prisoner is forty-nine cents a day, the maximum a dollar ten. Moreover, the prison has a fund that provides subsidies for the families of the prisoners; from July 1, 1924, to June 30, 1926, the sum of \$48,792.96 was paid out for this purpose. Part of the income of the prisoners, also, is used. The goods are sold in the open market under the state-account system directly to merchants and farmers' societies in the neighborhood. The prisoners work eight hours a day. The prison supports itself; at the end of 1926 it had even yielded a surplus of \$83,359.30 to the state.¹

Stillwater enjoys a high reputation throughout the United States, and its warden, J. J. Sullivan, who has been in the prison service for more than twenty-five years, is doubtless a man of great commercial and organizing ability. It cannot be denied either that in this prison the routine aspects of the work have reached an impressively high level and that the mechanism functions without friction. But these advantages are counterbalanced by such serious disadvantages that Stillwater should by no means be taken as a model for American, and certainly not for German, prisons.

"Both plant and industries, admirable as they are, should be only a means to an end. The man-product is more important to the state than the industrial product. The institution is socially useful only as its human product is of the right kind".²

And in this respect Stillwater is thoroughly behind the times and antiquated. It is merely a machine, and the prisoner a work slave, or, more correctly, a wheel that must revolve for eight hours. There are three classes of prisoners, who are differentiated from one another by the kind and degree of privileges they enjoy (letters, visits, insignia). Any serious observation and classification of the individual prisoners, any examination of their peculiar weaknesses, any attempt to elevate and develop their personalities—anything of that kind is impossible because there are simply no time and no facilities for it. There is neither a psychological nor a psychiatric examination of the prisoners. When the eight-hour

¹ Quoted from the Twenty-fourth Biennial Report, 1925-26, p. 11.

² Comment on Stillwater in the *Handbook of American Prisons*, p. 322. See also the article by MacCormick already referred to: "'Send Them Up'—to What? Firsthand views of American prisons", in *Survey Graphic*, March, 1926.

day is over, they are simply locked up in their cells. Not even a daily recreation of one hour's open-air exercise is granted. Only on Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings are sports and active games allowed. Instruction is given three evenings a week during eight months of the year, but it is restricted entirely to elementary subjects, and the teachers are only prisoners. There is an employed "director of education", but it is significant of the importance attached to his activity that he draws a salary of four hundred dollars, whereas the superintendent of industries receives five thousand! The discipline in the institution is based upon compulsory silence; except on certain days a week, talking is forbidden, not only during working hours, but at meals. The prisoners come to their meals with bowed heads and arms crossed over their chests. Violation of the rules, which are rigid, very detailed, and unnatural, leads to loss of privileges and in severe cases to the isolation cell, in which "educational work" is carried on by putting the prisoner on a diet of bread and water and binding his hands during the work period (eight hours a day).

No, Stillwater is only outwardly a model prison; in spirit, it is an institution of the beginning of the Nineteenth Century.

The prison at Canyon City, Colorado, is difficult to judge on the basis of our personal observation. According to the warden, Thomas J. Tynan, at the time of our visit 60 per cent of the 970 prisoners were employed outside the prison on road and farm work. Nothing particularly valuable or even interesting was to be seen.¹ The warden made a rather strange impression upon us; he gave very uncertain answers to questions and seemed somewhat disturbed. I attributed this to the fact that on the morning preceding our visit, an execution (by hanging) had taken place; the warden stated with a good deal of emotion that the man "unquestionably" had been insane and that he had tried in vain to obtain a reprieve for him. Later I realized that Mr. Tynan's behavior had still another cause, for the National Society of Penal Information, in the first edition of the *Handbook of American Prisons* (1925)—on the basis of careful, personal investigation by two

¹ The prison can be visited on week days at certain hours on payment of twenty-five cents. This money is used for the prisoners, who otherwise are not paid.

such conscientious and expert observers as the secretary of the society, Mr. P. W. Garrett, and Professor A. H. MacCormick—had reported a number of abuses in this prison: grave mistreatment of prisoners, an arbitrary system of discipline, punitive measures of a medieval kind, and so forth.¹ Because of this report, the warden had objected to a second inspection of his prison by a representative of the society, and had become generally distrustful of investigation of his institution, even by visitors from Europe.

The small prison in Salt Lake City, Utah, had at the time of our visit only 202 prisoners. It is sixteen years old and very antiquated in its provisions. There is no school there. "The illiterates learn to read and write from other prisoners", my guide told me. I don't know whether he believed that himself or whether he thought that he could put over anything—on a European. A small swimming pool for the prisoners is a feature of interest. The death penalty in this state can be carried out by shooting. Prisoners condemned to die have a choice between this manner of execution and hanging; they usually choose the former.

The sorry state of affairs at San Quentin I have already discussed. The workshops there are, in general, antiquated and neglected. But it cannot be denied that various types of work—and some of it even very good work—are carried on there, especially in the shop for cabinet work, in which about three hundred prisoners are engaged and which turns out very good school benches and desks.² Only the prisoners engaged in road work are remunerated; they are paid seventy-five cents a day as a maximum. The goods produced in the prison are usually sold to state institutions. The prison is terribly overcrowded, there is no separation of young offenders from old, and the officials impressed us as unintelligent and self-satisfied. There is no progressive system; all receive the same treatment, but good behavior shortens the term.

The efforts of the educational division of the institution, however, are really praiseworthy. It has the coöperation of

¹ See Bulletin No. 8 of the society—*The Colorado Report*—and *Handbook of American Prisons*, pp. 136 ff.

² But the jute mill is said to be quite out of date, so that the prisoners working there actually do only "treadmill" work (*Handbook of American Prisons*, p. 134).

the University of California, which offers university extension courses in a number of fields. The library of over eleven thousand volumes covers a wide variety of subjects. On the same high level is the well-equipped hospital, which contains operating rooms, an X-ray department, a dental clinic, a diet kitchen, a pharmacy, and a small tuberculous ward. In spite of these bright spots, San Quentin as a whole gives a distressing impression, especially in view of the general economic development of such an amazing country as California.

In contrast to this prison, I made the acquaintance in California of a model institution of the first rank in the field of training schools—the Whittier State School near Los Angeles. The director of the institution, Fred C. Nelles,¹ lays particular stress on the point that the surroundings and spirit of the place shall be as little as possible like those of a corrective institution in the technical sense. It is to be a state school—"a 'school' because the problems put to it constitute pure problems of education, and 'state' because the state thus acknowledges its responsibility for providing these boys intensively with the kind of education that family and public school failed to give them."² At the time of my visit, the institution had 320 pupils, all below sixteen years of age; the average age was thirteen. Children can be committed there as neglected or delinquent either by the juvenile-court judge or directly by their families. Usually they stay only two years, but they can be kept until they are twenty-one. Whereas a correctional institution run according to the old methods can show only from 7 to 10 per cent of successes, the Whittier State School can boast that 75 per cent of those discharged from the school do well for several years. That fact alone compels our attention and raises the question, What are the methods that lead to such fruitful results?

The work begins with a special study of each individual case. Under the guidance of the psychologist, Ellen B. Sullivan, a special California Bureau of Juvenile Research has been established, which edits a paper printed in the institution:

¹ Since my visit, I have heard with deep regret of the death of Mr. Nelles.

² A clear and very impressive account of the institution is given in a publication, *Whittier State School* (Publications of the Whittier State School, General Bulletin No. 5), by Elmer E. Knox and Edwin T. Lewis, from which I quote the facts given below.

The Journal of Delinquency, "devoted to the scientific study of problems related to social conduct".¹ Careful examination of the physical, intellectual, psychological, and ethical peculiarities of each individual boy are of real service to the school: his abilities and disabilities, his desires, inclinations, and aversions have to be determined before education work with him can be intelligently directed. And besides throwing light upon the individual case, these investigations furnish data for a study of the psychology of delinquent children in general and the causes of their delinquency. The examinations are made first in a hospital connected with the institution, to which every newcomer is admitted for several days. If no treatment for infectious disease or other condition seems to be indicated, he is transferred into the receiving cottage, where he is kept under relatively strict supervision for a period of from six weeks to three months, while a plan for his physical, vocational, and educational treatment is made out on the basis of his individual needs.

It is only now that the real educational work begins. It is made up, first, of a special program and, second, of "education through the atmosphere"² of the institution. The program consists of telling the boy the aims and ideals of the school, and showing him how he can best "profit" by them. He now joins a group, according to his age and mentality. Each group lives in a special house, with special quarters and playgrounds and a supervisor, but no strict restraint. Not more than thirty boys live in a single cottage.

In the forenoon the boys have four hours of school; in the afternoon four hours of vocational training.

¹ This semi-monthly periodical is already in its tenth year. Among its associate editors are William Healy, of Boston, and Lewis M. Terman, of Stanford University.

² This expression reminds us of the "pedagogical atmosphere" that Herrmann and Bondy tried to create in Hahnöfersand. All in all, the spirit of Whittier State School carries out to an astonishing degree the aspirations of these two outstanding social pedagogues. For a description of their work see the following books: *Das Hamburgische Jugendgefängnis Hahnöfersand; Ein Bericht über Erziehungsarbeit in Strafvollzug*, by Walter Herrmann (*Hamburgische Schriften zur gesamten Strafrechtswissenschaft*, Heft 4, II; Mannheim: Bensheimer, 1926) and *Pädagogische Probleme im Jugendstrafvollzug*, by Curt Bondy (*Hamburgische Schriften zur gesamten Strafrechtswissenschaft*, Heft 8, I; Mannheim: Bensheimer, 1925).

Nine teachers—most of them women, whom Americans very rightly consider, because of their greater patience and their more highly developed sensitiveness to the moods and feelings of others, to be better suited than men to the education of problem children—give instruction in various classes, varying from elementary school up through high school, the instruction being directed as much as possible toward the individual. The aim is to reach the standards of the public schools and to interest each boy in doing so.

At four o'clock vocational training begins. Each boy learns, according to his ability, such trades as shoemaking, tailoring, painting, laundry work, cooking, smithy work, printing, gardening, and agricultural work. The strongest boys are assigned to the smithy work and the "best" boys to the printing shop. The work, which is done for the institution and the state, is supervised by specially trained instructors and every effort is made to give it meaning and to awaken the pupil's intellectual interest in it, so that it will be to him something more than a merely mechanical process.

About two hours a day are devoted to recreation. A beautiful swimming pool, gymnastic exercises, grounds for sports and play, and film and theater performances are provided for this purpose. Here, again, the groups remain separated. The aim of the sports is to strengthen the boys physically, and at the same time to teach them the Anglo-Saxon principle of fair play as a preparation for good citizenship. In order to do away with any idea of ostracism or stigma of punishment in connection with the school, the boys take part in competitions with neighboring schools. They are very proud of the fact that in these athletic meets they hold an unusually high place among all California schools, according to the judgment of those versed in such matters.

The "education through atmosphere" of the institution proceeds upon the idea that most of the boys have come from a poor environment and will later return to the same surroundings. They must, therefore, be given, within these two "precious years", impressions of an *especially intense vitality*, which will endure in spite of the poor environment ahead. For the most part, these boys have never led a normal life, and if a boy does not live under normal conditions—that is, condi-

tions that are suited to his needs—in the way of nourishment, sleep, work, and recreation, one cannot wonder if his thoughts and his actions are not normal either. Therefore, one finds here none of the atmosphere of the old “refuges”, such as we still have in Germany, but, instead, an atmosphere that wins through its wholesomeness, gayety, friendliness, and charm. It should, indeed, be very attractive, for the reason that only if a boy loves his institution will its spirit and the teachings of its educators retain their hold upon him through his whole life. The director of the institution calls each boy “son”; and his whole personality radiates a spirit of infectious kindness that not only wins the boys, but holds the entire staff under its spell and calls forth a like attitude in them. Any one who sees the institution and the boys, who hears their talks and discussions with teachers and foremen, feels at once this atmosphere of understanding, frankness, and friendship.

The same spirit rules in the dangerous field of discipline. There is, of course—though for American institutions it is by no means “of course”—no corporal punishment. Mr. Nelles has the right view that disciplinary measures should be used as seldom as possible, that they should be merely temporary “props” to the authority of the less competent and experienced supervisors, and eventually he discharges officials who need such support too often. Moreover, punishment takes the form of a loss of certain privileges: the boys are not allowed to swim or to play, or must stay by themselves for a certain time without speaking. The more difficult cases are sent into the “cottage of lost privileges”. Here they are required to perform fatiguing work, such as road work and similar tasks that are tiresome, but yet of a constructive nature. If a boy is dangerous to the group, he is not locked into a cell with bread and water, but is put into quarantine—that is, is put to bed as if he were sick (and indeed a great part of such behavior problems have their origin in psychic, particularly emotional, disturbances); he is observed and treated with a milk diet by physician and nurse until he is willing and able to return to normal life. This course has the advantage of not attaching either any stigma or any false heroism to the boy, in his own judgment or in that of his comrades. It is the avoidance of all such destructive influences that makes this system so particularly effective.

The director of the institution is opposed to the system of military training, since, as he told me, this method is only torture for physically weak and nervous children.

In each cottage there is a common dormitory for newcomers and other boys who need special supervision. The boys go to bed at eight, and until nine either listen to the radio or to reading aloud. The supervisor keeps watch from nine until six in the morning. He must stay awake because every fifteen minutes he must record the time on an electric control watch. The more advanced boys get single bedrooms; this fosters individuality and self-respect, and tends to create a homelike atmosphere. The boys who make the best progress are sent into the cottage of the Boy Scouts; they wear the uniform and are generally recognized as belonging to the Boy Scouts, and they are very proud of their position and of their unusually comfortable rooms, which they look after with great care.

There are no walls or other means of preventing escapes. The boys have a special "clan" pride in keeping their cottage record clean. A runaway is considered a blot upon the whole group. There is *no punishment*, but the recaptured runaway is almost in physical danger from his group companions. An incident that illustrates this voluntary and inward allegiance to the rules of the school is related in the report already quoted. A newcomer says to a boy who has been longer at the school that he had expected to find walls here. The other answers, "There are walls here!" "But I don't see any", the new boy replies. "And *you can't see them, either*", returns the other, "*but they are here* and they are a hundred feet high."

In connection with Whittier, mention should be made of a book that is pervaded with the same spirit: *Youth in Conflict*,¹ by the deputy referee in the Juvenile Court, Miriam Van Waters. With unusual depth and great subtlety, this author discusses the whole complex problem of delinquency. Arrangements have been made for a German translation of this remarkable book.

In New Orleans I saw the municipal school for boys, of which little good can be said.

¹ New York: Republic Publishing Company, 1925.

On the return trip I visited, first, the institutions of the District of Columbia—the reformatory for men at Lorton, and the workhouse, Occoquan, for men and women.

These institutions are interesting from the point of view of construction because an effort has been made to avoid anything reminiscent of a prison. With the exception of a few isolation cells for such prisoners as need special supervision, the one-story buildings are not surrounded by walls nor are the windows barred. The large, airy, and spacious dormitories are guarded, but for the rest a high degree of self-government prevails in all three institutions. The discipline and the relationship between prisoners and officials are remarkably good. During the year 1925 only three of the 296 prisoners attempted—without success—to escape from the reformatory.¹ Unfortunately, according to the ill-advised American custom, the prisoners receive no remuneration for their work, so that naturally they work very slowly. The institution has been in process of construction by prisoners for several years and will not be completed for several more.

I received a particularly favorable impression from the director of the workhouse for women, Minnie R. Herndon, who told me two things worthy of mention: first, that she tries to make life in the institution as nearly as possible like that in a busy, but comfortable home; and second, that disciplinary punishments are unnecessary when the prisoners are justly treated.

Of the various types of work carried out in the male workhouse I would mention especially the large brick yard, in which about two hundred prisoners are occupied. Here also I found the officials interested and intelligent.

While in Pennsylvania, I attended the Fifty-sixth Congress of the American Prison Association, held in Pittsburgh from October 15 to 21. This congress, which brought together about eight hundred prison experts from forty-two states of the union, was of unusual importance for me. The proceedings and discussions, and even more the talks that I had with individuals, gave me an insight into the complicated, many-sided, unevenly developed American prison system. On the one hand, I was made to realize the almost incredible obstacles

¹ Report of the Board of Charities of the District of Columbia, 1925. p. 43.

set up in the path of progress by laws, methods of administering justice, and politics; the vacillations and regressions that result from an unusually excitable and emotional public opinion; the difficulties of the personnel problem. On the other hand, I was strongly impressed with the thoroughness and infectious enthusiasm of a few leading personalities.

Of the visits that I made at this time I might mention that to the Western State Penitentiary in Pittsburgh. This institution can be briefly described as an antiquated prison in which a new spirit is seeking to express itself. The superintendent, Stanley P. Ashe, is a former superintendent of schools, who was engaged by the institution in 1924, originally as its educational director. Since then, as the *Handbook* emphasizes (page 509), very vital improvements have been carried out. For instance, the number of prisoners productively occupied rose, between the first edition of the *Handbook* in 1925 and the second in 1926, from 9 per cent to 25 per cent. At the time of my visit, 149 of the 1,050 prisoners were still unemployed. The unoccupied prisoners can get instruction in the school in the forenoon from eight to half-past ten and in the afternoon from one to half-past two. For the working prisoners courses are given from five to half-past seven. The school, however, is compulsory only for illiterates. Besides the usual subjects—grammar, English, and civics—instruction is given in typewriting and shorthand, as well as in such manual branches as weaving and tailoring. Recently there has been an attempt to give apprentice instruction in the shops. The prisoners who are not at work can occupy themselves in their cells; they make parts of radios, strings of beads, articles of handicraft work, and ship models; these things are sold for the benefit of all the prisoners. A good prison journal, *The Echo*, edited and published by the prisoners themselves, circulates in an edition of twenty-five hundred copies. The prisoners receive from fifteen to twenty cents a day for their work. Upon discharge, each is given a good suit of clothes and ten dollars.

The Allegheny County Workhouse in Pittsburgh, which has been in existence for fifty-seven years and accommodates from about 1,000 to 3,800 prisoners, is a peculiar mixture of a prison for both short-termers and long-termers, principally the former. The report for 1925 mentions 1,961 prisoners who

were imprisoned for thirty days and, on the other hand, a number who were serving indeterminate sentences of several years—38 from two to four years, one from five to ten, and another from ten to twenty years. The provisions for work are for the most part antiquated, and not worth a detailed description.

With the members of the congress I visited two well-known training schools in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh. The first was the Thorn Hill School (superintendent, Franklin H. Briggs) in which we attended Sunday exercises, with speeches, declamations, and songs. The institution itself is an agricultural farm with seventeen simply equipped cottages, in each of which twenty-five boys live under the supervision of a house father and his wife. The boys—about four hundred—are admitted through the juvenile court; they range in age from eight to a maximum of twenty years. School instruction and agricultural work alternate. The boys have to stay until, on the basis of accomplishment and character, the superintendent suggests to the juvenile court that they be released on parole.

The second training school, Pennsylvania Training School near Morganza (superintendent, William Penn), developed from the old "house of refuge" in Allegheny (1850) and has been located in Morganza since 1906. In the matter of surroundings, the institution is beautifully situated; it has seven hundred acres of land, beautiful gardens, and unusually pleasant cottages—ten—a large gymnasium, and very well-equipped workshops. Here, again, the single cottages are organized into easily supervised units of not more than thirty children. This institution is for both boys and girls. The two sexes, however, live entirely apart from each other, meeting only on festival occasions. The school should not, therefore, be classed as a coeducational institution, as it sometimes is.

The girls are given instruction and practical training in all the branches of household work: cooking, sewing, knitting, dressmaking, washing, and ironing. They not only do the actual work, but are especially instructed in domestic science. *Æsthetic* dancing and calisthenics, as well as an unusually well-trained choir, are also among the girls' activities.

The boys are engaged in fifteen different lines of work, here again accompanied by theoretical and technical instruction: baking, blacksmithing, bricklaying (and, at that, real work, not merely demonstration work as at Elmira), carpentry, cooking,

dairy farming, engineering, music, painting, paperhanging, plastering, printing, shoemaking, tailoring, and agriculture. The boys do all the work of the institution. In each class there is a foreman trained in his particular line. The shops are very clean and are provided with the most modern equipment, and stress is evidently laid upon good workmanship; the aim is to maintain as high standards as non-penal institutions and schools. The agricultural and garden work, in which only boys are employed, seemed to me to be on an unusually high plane. This branch of work is a source not only of income to the institution, but of pride as well, for the school has a number of gold and silver medals won in agricultural contests.

For the boys, great importance is attached to the military drill, because, as the report says, it teaches exactitude, self-control, the ability to think quickly, and obedience. The cadet band gives concerts in the neighborhood. The music provided for church services and for sports and games serves at the same time as training for the boys engaged in it. A number of discharged graduates have found good positions in orchestras; indeed, several former band boys are now concert conductors. In the theatrical performances—cantatas and operettas—the boys and girls act together. Occasionally they give performances outside of the institution; for example, the report mentions a performance in the Capitol Theatre in Washington, Pennsylvania, attended by an enthusiastic audience of seventeen hundred people.

The institution receives boys and girls from six to twenty-one years of age. The average age of the boys is fifteen and a half, and of the girls, sixteen. Children are referred by the juvenile court, and in the case of those over sixteen, also by the court of quarter sessions. The institution accommodates about eight hundred children. They must be discharged at the age of twenty-one, but as a general rule they are released on parole before that time. The average term of residence is twenty-one months. The institution has a woman psychologist, scientifically trained in theory, laboratory work, and clinical practice, who diagnoses the individual intelligence of each child, its abilities and disabilities, its character, and its personality traits. Upon her findings she makes suggestions as to the kind of training best suited to the child. This psychologist

keeps in close touch with the various departments and, as the report emphasizes, renders a service of unusual value, because it is through her findings that the treatment of the child in the institution and the plan for his life after discharge are adapted to his particular needs.

As soon as possible after the admission of the child, it is the task of the chief parole officer to begin to make arrangements for the period after discharge. The child's home has to be investigated, and if it proves to be unsuitable, a "good home" must be found through the parole bureau. The average age on discharge, the report states, is sixteen years and four months for boys, and seventeen years and five months for girls. Each child discharged is kept under close supervision. According to the report, about 75 per cent of those discharged do well. Unfortunately it does not state for how long a time this observation is carried on. From 1914 to 1925 the number of admissions to the school increased from 409 to 800—that is, almost doubled.

On our visit, after luncheon, at which we were served very ably by the boys, the superintendent of the institution, William Penn (whom I had met at the International Prison Congress in London, August, 1925), asked me to speak. Since the pastor of the German Evangelical Church, Mr. Ernst, sat next to me, I spoke in German, and Mr. Ernst translated what I was saying. I received much applause, although I did not conceal at all in how many respects American prisons seemed to me antiquated and behind the times. But of course I was able to add that the Children's Village near Dobbs Ferry, the Whittier State School, and the Pennsylvania Training School had made an excellent impression upon me.

One of the outstanding impressions that I brought away from America was of the work of Dr. Willem van de Wall, who is attempting to utilize music in prisons, training schools, and mental hospitals.¹ This young Hollander, who emigrated

¹ See his book *The Utilization of Music in Prisons and Mental Hospitals; Its Application in the Treatment and Care of the Morally and Mentally Afflicted* (New York: National Bureau for the Advancement of Music, 1924). See also his papers, *Music as a Means of Discipline*, in the Proceedings of the Fifty-third Annual Congress of the American Prison Association, and *Music in Correctional Institutions*, in the Seventy-eighth Annual Report of the Prison Association of New York.

to America before the war, is a musician trained in Europe, who for a number of years held positions as harpist in various large European opera houses—in Germany among other countries—and finally in the Metropolitan Opera House of New York. He then occupied himself theoretically with the problem how far music, because of its psychic, highly emotional effect, could be utilized as an educational agent. The Americans, with their admirable receptivity to new ideas, gave him a chance, not only to speculate upon the question, but to try it out in practical form. The Department of Welfare of the State of Pennsylvania—which has charge of all the penal and correctional institutions as well as the mental hospitals and other medical institutions, and which is conducted by Dr. Ellen C. Potter in the most far-sighted manner—engaged him for the Pennsylvania Training School, and requested him at the same time, as field representative, to promote the use of music in the institutions of the state, and to train teachers and nurses for this work. He also lectures on the subject at Columbia University in New York.

In Pittsburgh he gave the members of the congress a demonstration of his art. A theoretical paper on the aims of his work was followed by instrumental and vocal performances by boys and girls from the Pennsylvania Training School. No one who attended will ever forget the minuet from Mozart's *Don Juan*, which was sung by three girls from the institution with incomparable purity of tone and a power of expression both compelling and touching. I mention this performance not so much because of the great impression that it made, but to point out in connection with it the *theoretical bearing* of Van de Wall's experiments, and the possibility of making a practical application of it in training schools and prisons.

We are not concerned here with the question (which to my mind is no longer a question) how far music—of course good music—should be encouraged as a wholesome factor in the recreational program of an institution. The question is rather whether music can be of value as an educational factor. This question Van de Wall answers in the affirmative, on the basis of his observations in prisons, correctional institutions, and mental hospitals. In all three types of institution there

are people who, for all their dissimilarity,¹ have one thing in common—they are all living under conditions in which emotional excitement and disturbance are easily aroused. The old methods of treatment knew very little of these things—at any rate, ignored them—and put their trust in restraint and repression. To-day we know—although in practice the knowledge is by no means commonly applied—that this is a mistaken course, which leads only to suppression and pathological accentuation of the emotions. Nowadays intelligent educators, clergymen, and physicians try to free such emotions and to give them an opportunity to abreact. And music offers an opportunity for such abreaction to a marked degree, not only for those inmates who are producing it, but for those who are listening as well.

Van de Wall believes—in my opinion, with reason—that instrumental music, because its execution requires a degree of concentration and persistence that the majority of inmates lack, is less valuable for this purpose than vocal music—folk songs, hymns, and good popular songs. It gives one pause when so experienced and sensitive a musician tells us that no chorus of the Metropolitan Opera House can equal in emotional intensity a prisoners' chorus in a workhouse. He thinks that Beethoven must have known this, because his prisoners' chorus in *Fidelio* is charged with such passionate emotion. He tells us that he took up with the girl pupils of the training school Schubert's *Erlking*, and when they had mastered it technically, he gave them Madame Schumann-Heink's rendering of the song on a gramophone record, and let them practice with it repeatedly. In a very short time, he says, his pupils had perfected themselves into a fortyfold Schumann-Heink and sang Schubert's song with really gripping expression.

These results, achieved with very simple people, only slightly gifted with real talent, are accounted for by the fact that emotion is the very essence of music, and the inmates of institutions, just because they are barred away from a life of

¹ The dissimilarity, by the way, is much slighter than is usually assumed in Germany. For instance, close observation shows no appreciable difference between the mental and spiritual attitudes of the inmates of a prison and those of a training school. It follows, therefore, that the experience gained in modern training schools can and should be utilized in our prisons.

freedom and from normal social intercourse, and because a natural gratification of their desires and impulses (particularly their sexual instincts) is impossible for them, store up in themselves an unusual amount of emotional energy, which discharges itself passionately through the music. And the same psychic conditions explain also why the mere listening to good music usually has such a profound effect in these institutions.

It is this function of music that gives it its educational value. Releasing and discharging stored up emotion as it does, it saves the inmates of an institution from that hardening of the heart, that intensification of hatred and longing for revenge, that accumulation of feelings of inferiority and unsatisfied, suppressed desires—in short, from all those destructive psychic conditions which constitute the most serious problem that educational work in prisons and training schools is called upon to solve. Music appeases and releases; it provides opportunity for self-expression, which Americans rightly recognize as a valuable substitute for repression, with its unwholesome consequences. There can be no question that such a freeing of emotional energy can be made a highly important factor in the maintenance of discipline and in the achievement of a harmonious mental atmosphere favorable to good teamwork.

While I was in Pittsburgh, Mr. John A. Brown, secretary of the Indiana State Board of Charities, induced me to visit the institutions of his state. "It's just a step away", he said—speaking in the American sense, for to reach Indianapolis I had to make a ten hours' railway trip—and he told me that the Europeans who attended the International Prison Congress in Washington in 1910, after their inspection tour through the states, had unanimously pronounced the farm prison in Indianapolis the best American prison. Of course I could not miss that, and therefore spent two days visiting a few of the institutions of the state under Mr. Brown's guidance.

This remarkable state has been heard from on more than one occasion. It was here, in 1907, that the first law for the sterilization of "incurable" criminals was passed—a law that later was annulled by the state supreme court as uncon-

stitutional¹—and it was here that the fantastic brotherhood of the Ku Klux Klan originated (*sic!*). It was here, on the other hand, that a generally esteemed criminologist, well-known in Europe, also—Amos W. Butler, Mr. Brown's predecessor—retained his position as Commissioner of Correction for twenty years, in spite of all political changes. He is now retired. A pamphlet that he published in 1916—*A Century of Progress, 1790 to 1915*²—traces the development of Indiana's system of charities and correctional institutions. It shows what favorable results follow from continuity of policy, and what expert direction, steadily applied, can accomplish in spite of the obstructive and regressive influences of a prejudiced public opinion.

My visit to the Indiana State Prison I have already mentioned. In the arrangement of its plant, in the variety of the work offered and the zeal with which it is carried out, in the vigorous and yet kindly spirit that pervades it, this farm prison has solved the difficult problem of a prison for short-term sentences in a very impressive manner indeed. But the fact that the prisoners are not paid for their work is a grave defect.

I received a less favorable impression, however, from the Indiana Reformatory for boys, in Pendleton. This institution has a population of sixteen hundred boys, from the ages of fifteen to thirty. It is supposed to carry out the principles of reformation instead of those of "vindictive justice";³ but actually the spirit that prevails here is the old repressive spirit of authority imposed from without. The system is the rigid and sterile system founded upon "obedience and submission". And quite in accord with the indifference to psychic values inherent in such a system of military discipline, corporal punishment is inflicted for violation of the rules. On the other hand, school instruction is given only to those who cannot read or write at all or who do so very poorly. There is also no serious attempt to individualize the boys and separate them into small groups. I watched the inmates

¹ See *Eugenical Sterilisation, 1926*, by Harry H. Laughlin. New Haven, Connecticut: The American Eugenics Society, 1926.

² Indianapolis: Board of State Charities, 1916.

³ Annual report, 1925.

march, to the strains of the band, into the gigantic dining room, where the meal was served, silently and in the most perfunctory fashion, by other prisoners. When I mentioned the fact that young and old prisoners sat promiscuously together at these long tables, I was given the characteristic answer that in America young offenders know much more about crime than the older ones, and so cannot be infected by association with them. I hardly think that this contention will hold from the educational point of view.

I was very favorably impressed, however, with the small Indiana Women's Prison, with its 185 prisoners, which is run by a woman who, both in executive ability and in human understanding, admirably fills her position.

And now I left for Philadelphia, the old Quaker city. The Eastern Penitentiary, which at the time of its construction—the corner stone was laid in 1823, and the building was completed in 1829—was situated on the outskirts of the city, now stands in the midst of the city, like a frightful museum piece of a long-dead past. Except for the “promenade cells”, which originally were connected with the single cells and which have been torn down to make room for workshops, the building has been preserved in its original form. As one walks through the twelve corridors—which radiate from a common center, the watch tower—and looks at the poorly lighted, much too narrow cells—800 of them—in which more than a thousand prisoners are housed, one is filled with righteous horror: what must the prison conditions of an earlier day have been, if this method of harboring human beings was considered a step forward in civilization and held up to honor as a model for European prisons? And how could such a state as Pennsylvania, which, up to the present day at least, has been permeated with the spirit of the Quakers, with their humane and idealistic attitude toward prison problems—how could such a state have preserved this prison for a hundred years? It is painfully obvious that intelligent work is impossible here; the only effect it can have—an effect that is a disgrace to humanity—is the complete demoralization of the prisoners, socially and physically. Within the next few years a new prison is to be built at last. Even so it is worthy of record that as late as

1925 only 280 of the 1,372 prisoners could be provided with employment,¹ and that at the time of my visit the situation was only slightly better.

I am glad to say, however, that I met people here to whom my criticisms were nothing new, since they themselves had been fighting for years for a radical reform of the prison conditions in Pennsylvania. I would mention especially the Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs—of which Louis N. Robinson is chairman; George W. Kirchwey, director; and Florence Sanville and Leon Stern, the secretaries—and the Pennsylvania Prison Society, which has been in existence since 1778.

While in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, I visited two training schools: the Glenn Mills School for Boys, and the corresponding institution for girls, Sleighton Farm.

The first institution was, at the time of my visit, celebrating its hundredth anniversary, and in honor of the occasion had just brought out a report, which had been very well printed in the institution itself.² This institution grew out of the House of Refuge for Juvenile Offenders, founded in 1826. It aims to be—we read in the opening address—"rather a school for reformation than a place of punishment. An asylum for poverty and helplessness and ignorance, not a prison for malefactors. Its directors will be the friends and instructors of the inmates, not their inexorable executioners." The present institution receives boys under sixteen who are referred by the juvenile court, and also boys above sixteen who have had no previous prison record. Ninety-five per cent of the boys are committed for theft. All in all, there are in the institution about five hundred boys. They *must* be discharged at the age of twenty-one, but as a general rule, they are released after one year—occasionally after six months, but never earlier—on parole.

The director of the institution, a former army officer, Major H. B. Hickman, complained to me that the juvenile court too often tries out probation before it decides to send the boys to the institution. Thus boys often come to the

¹ *Handbook of American Prisons*, p. 499.

² *The Glenn Mills Schools—1826-1926. One Hundred Years of Humanity*, by Fullerton Waldo. Glen Mills: The Glen Mills School for Boys, 1926.

school only after having been released on probation from six to seven times. He attributed this condition to the aversion that the courts have to "institutions", and, he added indignantly, to discipline of any kind.

The provisions for work, school instruction, and recreation make, on the whole, a good surface impression. Upon admission, the boys are first carefully examined in a hospital, where they receive medical care if such is necessary. They are then placed for three months in a cottage directed by a woman, where they must do housework and receive physical and military training for two and a half hours daily. During this time psychological tests are made to determine for what kind of work they are fitted. The institution offers training in a number of lines of work—woodwork, carpentry, cooking, dairying, laundry work, farming, blacksmithing, gardening, cement work, tailoring, painting, baking, shoemaking, fireman's work, machinist work, janitor's work, plumbing, teamstering, printing, music, electrical work, butchering, waiter's work, and engineering—but unfortunately does not give "complete training" in any one line—merely lays a "sound foundation". In my opinion this is an utterly inadequate conception; what it comes to, when one reduces the euphemistic phrases of the Jubilee report to their actual meaning, is that the boys learn nothing properly, and so are discharged from the institution with no real training for the struggle of life.

The institution is governed by military discipline. The director believes in the value of this system, as a means of developing habits of precision, neatness, and manliness. We will discuss this later. There is, therefore, no "*self-government*"; the very fact that the boys have come here proves that they are not ripe for that, the director explained. There are, however, corporal punishments—very thoughtfully and carefully administered, the report says. (Of course any institution in which there is flogging says that.) But the fact that there are about twenty punishments a month—as the director, upon questioning, informed me is the case—does not speak very well for the wisdom of the institution's educational policy! And it is quite easy to gather, from the repressed, unnatural manner of the boys, that the same spirit

pervades the whole life of the institution. In this respect, if in no other, it falls far below the level of Children's Village and Whittier State School.

Sleighton Farm, however, is quite on a par with those two modern institutions. Of all the impressions of training-school work that I brought away from America, that of my visit here is one of the most beautiful. There is nothing about the name, Sleighton Farm, to suggest the institutional character of the place.¹ The lay-out of farm and garden, with their broad paths and magnificent groups of old trees and shrubs, the houses, furnished both comfortably and tastefully—"you never saw a cheerier school in your life!" But beautiful as it is, one is even more strongly impressed by the spirit that pervades the place, and the manner in which it expresses itself. I know of no institution in Germany with a personnel of such high quality—cultured, warm-hearted, sensitive people, working harmoniously together in a spirit of mutual helpfulness. The director, Miss Emily Morrison, the teachers and matrons of the individual cottages, the psychologist, and the physician, diverse as they are in personality, are at one in the conception of their work. They all realize clearly that nothing is accomplished by repression and enforced obedience, by mere routine and habituation to discipline; that behavior problems are never solved by moral lectures and severity. They know that one must first determine, without prejudice or condemnation, the cause of such behavior problems; and then, by means of confidence and kindness, by constant appeals to the good in these human beings, and development of their healthy instincts and energy, lay the foundation for a rebuilding of their characters. How instruction, work, and—most important of all—hours of the gayest and most delightful recreation are combined to further this end; how these girls—who come here almost like wild animals sometimes, hardened and embittered after the shock of what they have gone through—are won over and lifted up by this spirit of understanding and helpfulness; how through the love that they come to feel for this place—the first real "home" that they have ever known—they are bound also by ties of affection to the

¹ See *Sleighton Farm, An Interesting Experiment in Social Reconstruction*, by Ginty Beynon, 1926.

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p. 283.

prostitute.¹ Its secretary-general, Dr. Katharine B. Davis, is an intelligent, thoroughly fine woman, who many years ago studied under Schmolzer and Adolf Wagner in Berlin—a woman of great experience and maturity, and one who, in spite of her white hair, fully understands the youth of to-day. A last institute that should be mentioned—one that specializes in penology—is the National Society of Penal Information in New York City. Its president was Thomas Mott Osborne, the much criticized and much lauded former warden of Auburn and Sing Sing, who introduced self-government of the prisoners there and later in the Marine Prison in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He died while the Pittsburgh Congress was in session. Its vice-president is the outstanding criminologist, George W. Kirchwey, professor at Columbia University—a wonderful personality, of great knowledge, indomitable courage, and unflinching love for humanity. The secretary is Paul W. Garrett, who, in coöperation with A. H. MacCormick, professor of sociology in Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, was commissioned by the society to prepare *The Handbook of American Prisons*. This handbook is an absolutely indispensable source of information for any one who is studying American penology. It would be most desirable if reformatories and training schools were represented in the same manner. It gives information about fifty-two federal and state prisons, the thirteen Southern states of the country are still missing, but will be represented in the third edition of the handbook. The reports are made on the basis of personal visits; they give concise, clear, and comprehensive information on all the features of the various institutions—grounds and plant, administration, prisoners, discipline, health, industries, education, religion, training in citizenship, and parole. This account is followed by a short comment on each institution. The good points in each and all its progressive features are acknowledged with great conscientiousness, but shortcomings are

¹ Of general interest are the following works sponsored by the bureau: *Prostitution in the United States*, by H. B. Woolston (New York: The Century Company, 1921); *A Study of Women Delinquents in New York State*, by Mabel Ruth Fernald, Mary Holmes Stevens Hayes, and Almena Dawley (New York: The Century Company, 1920); and *An Experimental Study of Psychopathic Delinquent Women*, by Edith R. Spaulding, M.D. (New York: The Rand McNally Company, 1923). The last two books have prefaces by Dr. Davis.

to be actively interested in the foundation was the well-known American psychologist, the late William James, of Harvard University. He supported this movement for the enlightenment and education of public opinion as "a mediator between officials, patients, and the public conscience".

This movement has freed the care of the insane in America from the pernicious old methods, with their religious-ethical standards, which worked through fear, and has raised it to the level of a strictly medical treatment, which at the same time is not neglectful of social and educational value. It has, in the second place, traced the causes of mental disorders back to their sources, and taught the importance of prevention and early recognition of these disorders. The establishment of mental-hygiene work with the family and the school; the institution of the child-guidance clinics, and of educational work in the field of the problem child, with the object of doing away with methods of treatment that merely aggravate the trouble; the enlightenment of lawyers and educators as to the mental defects and disorders that so often explain maladjustment and criminality, and of the juvenile court, the penal court, and eventually the prison and reformatory as to how "youth in conflict" and behavior problems in adults can be successfully treated—all these varied and far-reaching activities originated with The National Committee for Mental Hygiene.

The American Social Hygiene Association has exerted an equally important influence. This movement, also international in scope, is leading an effective struggle against prostitution and venereal disease and for a rational sex education and sex hygiene, the protection of the illegitimate child, and other measures of the kind. It also functions through a magazine—*Social Hygiene*—and through scientific publications and a quantity of popular articles and pamphlets. It addresses itself to legislative bodies, teachers, parents, and social workers, and is characterized by that combination of indefatigable energy and warm-hearted optimism which is one of the best traits of the American character.

The Bureau of Social Hygiene does research work in some-what the same field. Of particular value are its studies of the female criminal, especially the psychopathic woman and the

exactly the kind of institute that would be of the highest importance for Germany—that is, an institute for studying the causes of criminality and methods of combating it; an institute that would combine the work of the criminologist with the work of the educator, the psychologist, the psychiatrist, and the sociologist, and that would yield scientific results applicable in practice. If only Hamburg might have the honor of setting an example in this as in so many other fields in Germany!

A realization of the importance of such an institute, from the theoretical and still more from the practical point of view, was brought home to me not only in Boston and Philadelphia, but above all in New York. I am referring here—not to mention the Russell Sage Foundation, the director of which, the indefatigable Hastings H. Hart, has contributed so much to the reform of penology—particularly to The National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the American Social Hygiene Association.

The National Committee for Mental Hygiene was founded in 1909 under conditions that sound like a novel and yet are true. The present secretary, Clifford Whittingham Beers, whose acquaintance I made in New York, may be reckoned among those rare individuals who transmit their own hardships into benefits for their fellow men. Twenty-five years ago he became mentally ill and, during a residence of several years in various mental hospitals, had experience of the harsh methods—the forcible restraints and senseless tortures—that time employed in the care of the insane. He has neither thrust aside these memories, nor has he let them breed bitterness and hatred, but has recorded them with admirable objectivity in a book that for all time will stand as a milestone in the evolutionary history of mankind: *A Mind That Found Itself, an Autobiography*, first published in 1907, a fifth edition in 1925.¹ This book has led to radical reforms in the care of the insane in the United States; and with the foundation of the committee and the establishment, in 1917, of an excellent magazine, *Mental Hygiene*, has initiated a widely ramified, international movement for mental hygiene. One of the first

¹ New York: Doubleday, Page and Company.

IV

This concludes my report on the institutions visited. There are still many matters of which I could speak—for instance, my visit to Judge Ben Lindsey in Denver, who familiarized the world with the idea of the juvenile court. For twenty-five years he has presided over this "juvenile and family court," the jurisdiction of which has been gradually enlarged and extended to include adults as well, in so far as their behavior is liable to affect the welfare of a child (in such cases, for instance, as divorces, claims for alimony, violation of parental educational duties, sexual attacks against juveniles).¹ The session that I attended brilliantly demonstrated the abilities of this juvenile judge, who has remained young himself—his skill in handling human beings, his gift of inducing young people to discuss their difficulties, his sovereign and consistent indifference to all ends but that of helping the child, the only aim that a court of this kind should have. It is no wonder that such a court has been able to win the confidence of young people. Just as people seek the doctor when they are physically ill, so they seek out the juvenile court—voluntarily, according to Lindsey—when they are "morally ill". More than half of the children, especially girls, now come to him of their own accord.²

I should like also to make a few remarks on the specifically American scientific foundations which not only fill us in Germany with envy, but should spur us on to emulation. We have, of course, a number of research institutions in the fields of the natural sciences, medicine, economics and sociology, jurisprudence, and lately also in politics. But we have not

¹ See Ben B. Lindsey in *Twenty-five Years of the Juvenile and Family Court of Denver, Colorado, Being an Account of Its Contribution to the Cause of Humanity, Truth, and Justice*, a pamphlet "presented by friends of the Denver Juvenile and Family Court in commemoration of its foundation under the Colorado Law of April, 1899, and its subsequent development under some fifty other items of statute since enacted".

² See Lindsey in *The Child, The Clinic, and The Court*, p. 285. Of over 1,000 girls dealt with by the court in the last two years, over 700 came to court of their own accord. Also, he lets the young people whom he sentences to prison go there by themselves. This has happened in over 1,000 cases without a single prisoner being lost. Six run away, but come back and went to the institution alone. (p. 286.)

a question of crude and indifferent products, which have, so to speak, occupied the hands only and merely prevented boredom; on the contrary, unusually striking and attractive designs are produced, designs that appeal to one's imagination and one's taste. And it is just this stimulation, this appeal to the artistic instincts, this directing of the attention to the unaccustomed fine work (in place of the usual "hard work"—in other words, "industrial drudgery") that awakens interest and zeal, develop the capacity to enjoy work as well as the ability to perform it, and prepare the individual for a new life—a life that will no longer be frittered away in cheap and petty emotions, but will find healthy psychic satisfactions. And it is these very psychopathic and feebleminded women, and others who because of their lack of control present the most difficult behavior problems, with whom such an occupational experiment sometimes achieves unexpected and lasting results.

This same effort to broaden and deepen life dominates all the activities of this institution. Every branch of work is utilized as an opportunity for this life training: the academic work is vitalized by an intelligent knowledge of the industries of the institution, and the industries are vitalized through the academic work.¹ An ample library of over three thousand volumes is housed in an unusually attractive reading room. Every inmate is given a medical and psychological examination, and detailed information with regard to each case is on file in a card index.

In 1924 the three-story cell block, which was erected in 1876 and contained forty-five cells for disciplinary cases, was torn down. Since then there have been no cells in the institution. The bricks of the old cell block have been "reformed into a gymnasium". It is, Mrs. Hodder says in her report,² "symbolic of the new penology that discipline through repression and punishment should give way to discipline through education and expression; that discipline which robbed of self-respect should go down before discipline which builds self-respect through control consciously acquired".

¹ Report, 1923, p. 56.
² Report, 1924, p. 43.

obedience. "We have", we read in the report for the next year, 1923 (page 47), "gone a long way toward making the life of the inmates more complex, thus throwing greater responsibility upon each woman. Life in an institution can be too regular, and administratively speaking it helps to have it so; but we are supposedly teaching these young people life, and life offers no compromise to routine—it calls for quick decisions, clean purposes, and the traveling of devious and crooked ways in a straight, effective manner. How can a reformatory, pledged to industrial output, food production, household routine, and with a constant eye to education and character development, accomplish this for each woman? At best we can but approximate it by crowding as many new situations as possible into each day and telling the women our purpose in doing so—taking them in on the scheme." This idea of training and developing each individual inmate through cooperation with her is carried out in the work. Mrs. Hodder lays stress upon giving each woman suitable work—in fact, makes an effort to find out what type of work will give her most satisfaction. These women "have lost out in love, home, religion, education, comradeship, wholesome interests, and the right interpretation of the advantages of their community, and reeducation must begin by deep probing into their spiritual and intellectual hungers and building from those findings".¹ Those who know only the work usually done in a women's prison—which never rises above the level of washing and cooking, mending and knitting, household and garden work—will, with a tolerant smile, dismiss this whole conception as fantastic. Should one really take so much trouble with these people—listless, apathetic, and unstable, some of them psychopathic or feebleminded—who have never learned anything, and who usually do not want to learn anything? Is it not a labor of Sisyphus, doomed to failure from the start? Actually, the situation is quite different. In Framingham many of the women hook and weave rugs from woolen and cotton remnants. And here it is not

¹ So we read in a pamphlet by Mrs. Hodder in which the year is not given, *The Treatment of Delinquent Women*. [Editor's Note: This is a paper read at the Fifty-second Annual Meeting of the American Prison Association, Detroit, Michigan, October, 1922.]

an institution, inmates and staff alike. The latter, indeed, is an absolutely indispensable preliminary to any prison reform—that is, bringing home to the staff the realization that prison work is never merely a matter of technical administrative details, but that psychic and human values are always involved; that the daily life of a prison calls for constant study of the prisoners, a never-failing sympathy with their interests, thoughts, and emotions, and an inexhaustible love of humanity!

It is this spirit that rules in Framingham! The institution celebrated its fiftieth anniversary this year (1927). Mrs. Hodder expressed the wish¹ that on this occasion a "frank and fearless analysis" of the work during the fifty years be published. She would like to follow up the subsequent lives of the twelve thousand women who have passed through this reformatory and, from a study of the results attained by the treatment methods of the past decades, draw conclusions for the years to come. She quite frankly admits that our "present penal system is all wrong" if we compare it with the program of mental hygiene and its "sound basis of knowledge, experience, and prognosis". Can the reformatory say of itself that it has sincerely sought first, last, and all the time, the greatest good of the inmates? "How many who have been sent here were not criminals, but problems of social maladjustment?" Instead of the "lightness of heart and disregard of facts that make our penal system a farce", a scientific classification of the prisoners should be made, so that the right individual may be sent into the right institution—*i.e.*, into one so equipped that his underlying personality defects can be treated with the greatest prospect of success. "Truly a reformatory must be a house of hope, or else in pity's name make it a cemetery, unless forsooth in our mad blindness we want to perpetuate an underworld." An institution ruled by such principles cannot, of course, confine itself to the old, useless, and in most cases, dangerous "home remedies" of habituation to "hard work" and

¹ Compare the Concord reports just quoted with the report on Framingham (1922, pp. 54 ff.). Even one who has not visited the two institutions can from the reports alone realize the difference in their methods of treatment and decide at once which should be taken as a model.

actual, positive interest, and therefore can almost never be won to a useful mode of life by being compelled to do "hard work". It is absurd to suppose that an institution can educate its inmates by forcibly habituating them to any kind of routine work. An equally primitive point of view appears in the statements of the report as to what other educational influences are at work in the institution. Thus we are told that contact with "honorable" people can exert a favorable influence—or a movie performance, or perhaps a good book.¹ For the rest, the educational work is disposed of in a few words in the report of the physician, again characteristically pessimistic. It is no wonder, he says, that the number of offenders restored to the ranks of useful citizens is small, for our inmates with an average age of twenty-one years have spent from four to eight years out of touch with school and home and "in vicious pursuits and are not easily amenable to *extraneous* reformatory influences".² These words, as a matter of fact, reveal a basic mistake in the methods followed in this institution: the only influences are those that come from *without*. Naturally, therefore, they cannot lay hold upon the inner life of the prisoners, and it is that alone that matters!

The institution at Concord could learn how this should be done. Instead of complaining about the malicious and prejudiced criticisms of outsiders—a complaint that occurs very often in the reports, and that is another earmark of an inferior institution, which always lays the blame somewhere else—it should rather learn a lesson from the reformatory for women in Framingham. The director of this institution, Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, is called by American prison experts the best prison director in the United States. I am afraid that there are not many among the prison directors of the Old World either who have the qualities of this woman. For here we find that rare union of knowledge and practical ability, of technical training and idealism, of maturity and open-mindedness, that are necessary for a mastery of the task laid upon the prison director. Such a combination of qualities is a source of inspiration and confidence for the whole life of

¹ Annual Report, 1923, p. 31.
² Annual Report, 1924, p. 38.

hospital built by the boys themselves, a psychopathic laboratory, which has been in existence for eighteen years (the first institution of its kind in American prisons), and a physician, Dr. Guy G. Fernald, who has worked there for fourteen years, has had psychiatric training, and is highly esteemed in scientific circles. In spite of all this, the institution, quite apart from its out-of-date buildings, made an unsatisfactory impression. The boys—there were 795 of them—had a highly characteristic disagreeable expression—submissive under the eyes of the officials, but sneering behind their backs. And the officials themselves looked indifferent and bored, like people who are doing their duty because they are paid for it, not like forceful, inspiring personalities, acting from an inner urge. Both the expression of the boys and that of the officials are—I make the statement without hesitation on the basis of my own experience—unmistakable symptoms of the fact that the institution lacks a truly educative spirit. And the report published last year bears out my personal impressions.

The institution has the military parade and drill (without admission of the public, however). There is no question of fostering a sense of responsibility in the boys themselves. "The boys", I was told, "have never learned to work. We teach them that here, and that is a great help." Now of course I do not deny that work is a very important factor in training schools. But care must be taken to adapt it to the capacities and interests of the individual prisoners, and to see that they are also given an opportunity to acquire mental impressions that will point the way to a social manner of life. But that does not enter into consideration at all in this institution. As the report of 1922 very characteristically remarks, every effort is made to impress upon the minds of all the boys the fact that "*hard work* alone brings success, in prison or out".¹ But this emphasizes the very point of view that dooms all institutions of this kind to hopeless failure. For the young people who come to a reformatory, as a rule, know work only as a burden and an oppression; most of them have never done any work from

¹ Annual Report of the Commissioner of Corrections, Massachusetts, 1922, p. 31.

for examination only those criminals whose mental condition is doubtful, for in all criminal cases, a diagnosis of the emotional and mental development of the individual is of vital importance as a basis for right treatment.

In this new development also Healy had led the way. Moreover, the director of the reformatory for women in Framingham, Massachusetts, Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, has had psychiatric and psychological examinations of all her inmates since 1912. And under the influence of the psychiatrist, Bernard Glueck, of New York, a psychiatric clinic has been established in Sing Sing, which is to serve as a clearing house for all persons serving sentence in the state of New York.

Massachusetts has made notable advances in the field of the prevention of crime, also. This state was the first in the world to institute probation. Adopted in practice as a result of the agitations of Father Cook, it has been legally in effect since 1878, and for all the courts of the state, with no discrimination between juveniles and adults or restriction to certain offenses or crimes. The institution of parole—the German *vorläufige Entlassung verbunden mit Schutzauufsicht*—was initiated in Massachusetts as early as 1845 by the employment of a special state official for discharged prisoners, and in 1865 was carried a step further in the form of a system modeled upon the English “ticket-of-leave” system. The first “juvenile reformatory” under state control, too, was established in Massachusetts in 1847.¹

And, finally, the institutions that I visited are a proof that the state is still faithful to its fine old traditions in the field of crime prevention and reformation. This is only partly true, however, of the reformatory for boys in Concord, the second oldest institution of its kind in the Union—built in 1884. This institution has excellent machines for the manufacture of woollen fabrics, good school-rooms, and teachers employed by the state, a wonderful

¹ On probation, see page 195 of *Penology in the United States*, by Louis N. Robinson (already referred to, note 1, page 239); on the new development in Massachusetts, see *Parole and the Crime Wave*, by Sanford Bates (before the Joint Committee on Judiciary of the Massachusetts Legislature, March 3, 1926), and the reports of the Commission on Probation 1923-25; on parole, see *Criminology*, by Edwin H. Sutherland (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1924), pp. 407 and 524 ff.

urged to make contacts with people and agencies engaged in other branches of child welfare (family, school, social clubs).

In the third period, which begins with the year 1921, the work of these "children's clinics" has extended beyond the juvenile court, and they now offer their services in the matter of behavior problems to the community in general. Thus we have child-guidance clinics such as those started by The National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Van Waters, in *Youth in Conflict* (pages 231-2), states that this type of clinic, "with its staff of psychiatrists, psychologists, physicians, and social workers, offers diagnoses and social treatment to the problem child whose mentality is such that treatment in the community [as opposed to treatment in an institution] is likely to be successful, but whose emotional or behavior difficulties have created maladjustment". Parents, teachers, and social organizations are advised here as to how such an adjustment to society can be brought about. It is a great program of community education and cooperation. Instead of dividing the interests of a problem child into sections—parents, school, physician, church, court, community and social-work agencies—the clinic takes up the problem of the child as a whole from the point of view of the prevention of delinquency. It is not a new method of treatment, but a means of bringing all available forces to bear upon the problem.

The fourth stage, finally, is the application of the same methods to the *adult criminal*. This is perhaps the most significant new development in criminology in America, a step of decisive importance for the world in general. Adler, in the paper in *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* already referred to,¹ quotes (page 447), the words of a high prison official: "Of course the out-and-out feebleminded or insane prisoner needs special attention, but surely the doctors have no interest in the *normal* prisoner." His answer to this—quite typical point of view—typical in Germany especially—is as follows: "The use of the word '*normal*' should be prohibited as misleading in the field of behavior difficulties." In other words, it is not enough to refer to the psychiatrist

¹ See note 3, page 291.

Of the development of this movement in America, one might say that it took place, roughly, in four stages. In the first period,¹ which includes the years 1909-15, the first juvenile psychopathic institute was started in Chicago, by Healy. The children dealt with—most of whom were referred by the juvenile court, though some were sent by parents or social organizations—were mainly “recidivists or of abnormal mentality.”² At the end of this period, Healy realized that it was a mistake to call this institute “psychopathic,” because a large number of the cases studied there were not at all of a psychopathological nature, and, more important still, because the theory that all behavior problems are to be explained as due to psychopathic disturbances could not be sustained. Accordingly in the second period, from 1915 to 1921, we have “institutes of juvenile research,” in Chicago (under the direction of Dr. Herman M. Adler³), Boston (Judge Baker Foundation Clinic, 1917), New York (Children’s Court Mental Clinic, 1917), Philadelphia (Municipal Court, Neuropsychiatric Branch of Medical Department, 1919), Los Angeles (Juvenile Court Clinic), and other cities. Here the work is done in close connection with the juvenile court, but stress is always laid (particularly in Boston) upon the importance of referring other children who have not yet come to the attention of the court, but are beginning to present behavior problems—for instance, in the home and at school.

The number of children of normal and superior intelligence who come for examination because of behavior problems is increasing; of 346 children examined in 1920 at the Judge Baker Foundation, 59.3 per cent were normal and 8.5 per cent superior in intelligence. Finally, these institutes were

¹ See *The History and Development of Institutes for the Study of Children*, by Joel D. Hunter, of Chicago, in *The Child, the Clinic and the Court*, pp. 204 ff. ² Among the publications that resulted from this work, mention should be made especially of *Pathological Lying, Accusation, and Swindling*, by William Healy and Mary Tenney Healy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1915); *Honesty*, by William Healy (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1915); and *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, by William Healy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1917). ³ See his paper, *Our Responsibility for the Future, in The Child, the Clinic, and the Court* (pp. 66-72), and his report, *Medical Science and Criminal Justice*, in *Criminal Justice in Cleveland*, Cleveland, Ohio: The Cleveland Foundation, 1922. pp. 439-85.

physical, psychiatric, and psychological examinations of the child himself; the child's "own story" (upon which Healy rightly lays particular stress, since in order to get at "the psychology of the situation", it is necessary to determine exactly how the various events have worked themselves out in the mental life of the child¹)—all this material forms the basis for a summary of the case which includes a statement as to the probable causes of the trouble, the prognosis, and recommendations for treatment.

The next step is a follow-up of the treatment in effect: what is being accomplished by the probation officer, the social worker, or the visiting teacher and in what ways they are failing; what success the family, foster home, or school, is having, and where they are falling short or taking the wrong course. Commitment to a training school is recommended only as a last resort, after the failure of other, more lenient methods of treatment, less likely to have a hardening effect. What makes these cases so extraordinarily instructive and enlightening for any one who has to deal practically or theoretically with the adjustment of juveniles is the absolutely scientific attitude that is maintained throughout—an attitude as free from subjective moral judgments as from the generalizations of psychoanalysis and the "individual psychology"—and the clear and frank discussion of the entire problem presented by each case, with the conclusions that are to be drawn from it. When one has once come in contact with the work that is being carried on here,² one realizes how little our universities, our courts (including the juvenile courts), our criminologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, educators, and social workers and, above all, the administrators of our prisons know of such methods, and how much, how infinitely much, they could learn from them.

¹ See the very instructive papers that, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the American Juvenile Court, were published under the title *The Child, the Clinic, and the Court* (New York: New Republic, Inc. 1925); particularly Healy's *The Psychology of the Situation: A Fundamental for Understanding and Treatment of Delinquency and Crime*, pp. 37-52.

² Besides his *Case Studies*, which are really textbooks, Healy has compiled his experiences and methods in a number of books. I mention especially *The Individual Delinquent* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1915) and *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), which was written in collaboration with Augusta Bronner.

settles. In this, the oldest state of the Union, one still finds, unfortunately, much of the intolerance and inhuman harshness of the Puritan Pilgrim Fathers, who, as every one knows, landed here in 1620. For instance, claim for support from the unmarried father of a child is made in a roundabout way through a trial for "fornication and bastardy"; murder in the first degree absolutely must be punished by the death penalty;¹ and so on. On the other hand this same Massachusetts offers a wealth of model provisions for the *scientific study* and the *prevention of crime*. In any account of these, the work of the psychiatrist, Dr. William E. Healy, deserves first mention. In collaboration with his co-worker, the psychologist, Dr. Augusta Bronner—assistant director of the Judge Baker Foundation, 40 Court Street, Boston—he has in his *Case Studies* worked out a method of investigation that has no equivalent in Germany at present. With admirable thoroughness and an objectivity unbiased by any metaphysical, biological, or other hypotheses, the Judge Baker Foundation studies each individual behavior problem referred to it by family, school, social agency, or juvenile court. The investigation includes all the aspects of the case—medical, psychological, pedagogical, and social—the object being to establish all the possible causal factors that have led up to the delinquency (for instance, truancy or sex offense), or the criminal act (for instance, theft), and especially to lay bare the "sore spot" in the emotional life of the child that is responsible for the disturbance. The investigation begins with a study of the background; that is, data with regard to the *family* and their traits are gathered as extensively and thoroughly as possible. The "evolutionary history" of the child (including data with regard to pregnancy, delivery, illnesses, infantile disorders, home conditions, family attitudes, interests, playmates, and habits); the school history; the vocational history; the history of any criminal acts or other conduct disorders; the data obtained by thorough

¹ Besides Massachusetts, Connecticut, Florida, New York, North Carolina, and Vermont still hold to this antiquated point of view. In the following eight states capital punishment has been abolished: Michigan, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota. In the rest of the states—thirty-three—the jury or the court has the choice of capital punishment or life imprisonment in cases of first-degree murder.

Handbook, they receive 20 per cent of the profits from the workshops, divided equally among them, the monthly share of each averaging \$3.88. For work on the farm and on maintenance, they receive fifteen cents a day.

The spirit of the institution is revealed by the manner in which it was shown to me. I went there unannounced. Warden Elmer E. Leach was very busy and apologized for not being able to guide me himself, but he assured me that he would put a very good guide at my disposal. He introduced me to a young man about thirty years old, who had been discharged from the institution half a year before, and who now demonstrated his interest in it by visiting it whenever he had time to come (he had secured a position) in order to help the warden. My friendly and intelligent guide had served a sentence of twenty-six months for embezzlement. He showed me the institution and its organization in all its details. It was really a pleasure to see with what pride he still clung to it, and the warmth and sincere affection with which he and his former fellow prisoners greeted each other.

As I talked over my impressions with the warden, at the end of my visit, I could assure him of my great gratification at finding such a school of self-government as was being conducted here. This "honor system" was introduced by the first director as "Calvary cure". Warden Leach had worked under him, and becoming his successor after his death in 1923, carried on in his spirit. We have here, therefore, an organization that has proved its worth by six years of functioning without disorder. So, in spite of the fact that many of its provisions are still primitive and in need of improvement, one might apply to this prison what the *Handbook* (pages 58-9) has to say of the prison of the future and its work:

"Instead of the old antagonism, officials and prisoners alike will be working for a common end: to make the prison a law-abiding community where the individual is never submerged; a hospital where men whose souls have never been developed, or have been injured in the Battle of Life, may find healing; a university where men may learn how best to lead their lives so as to bring about most lasting good for others and therefore for themselves."

The last state whose institutions I studied was Massachusetts-

order. The prisoners working on the two farms live in barracks with no official supervision, and have the greatest freedom of movements. Some of these prisoners are even employed on farms in the neighborhood, especially during harvest time; they go in the morning to their work, and return at night to their barracks. Their work and their behavior have been so much praised that the demand for them has increased from year to year. Problems of disorder and violations of discipline are dealt with by a special "honor court" elected by the inmates from their own number. It consists of four white and four colored prisoners. This court makes the rules for conduct at work, at meals, and at recreation (games and sports, moving pictures), and passes judgment on violations of the rules, the warden taking no part in the proceedings. One of the members acts as prosecutor, one as court clerk, and two as lawyers. Punishment consists of loss of privileges (games, recreation, visits, letters) and, in severe cases, of transfer to an isolation cell. The discipline of the institution is praised not only in the official report, but also by impartial and critical visitors. The directors of the institution report that 90 per cent of the prisoners behave themselves; "under the old system, when the work was supervised by armed guards, we had a riot, and at another time a guard killed; under the present system we have had at no time any disturbance of moment".

In spite of the fact that escape is now a far easier matter, conditions have improved in this respect, too, since the "honor system" went into effect. "We have heard", writes the reporter in the *Prison Journal* (page 15), "of but one escape from the prison farm, and in this instance the prisoners themselves took such deep interest in the matter that they voluntarily contributed several hundred dollars to find the traitor to their system. He was finally found and restored to the institution." The warden told me that during the last year there had been only one escape, while under the old "paid system", such cases occurred much more frequently. Escape is punished with one additional year of prison; moreover, the prisoner loses his right to parole. According to the

him permission to try the experiment. What he asked seven guards then employed, he proposed to have, with an average population of 400 prisoners (at the time of my visit there were 467) only three guards—two for day service, and one for the night watch.¹ Besides the warden and his deputy, the staff of this institution consists of one chief clerk, who has to take care of the bookkeeping, a foreman for each of the two farms (about 300 acres), a repair man and engineer, and one matron for the small female wing of the prison (with about forty women). A physician from Wilmington comes daily, a dentist twice a week. For purposes of instruction (which is given twice a week in the evening in three different classes—one for advanced studies and one for bookkeeping, and for the rest, writing, reading, and arithmetic, history, and civics), teachers, both men and women, come from the city, and are assisted by inmate teachers. The religious needs of the prisoners are taken care of by clergymen of the various creeds and sects, who, usually accompanied by their choirs, visit the prison on Sundays in the forenoon and afternoon all through the year. The latest published report, that for the year 1923-24,² mentions that in 1923 twenty-five different clergymen addressed the prisoners, and that these services had been very deeply appreciated and had proved much more fruitful than the old plan of having a paid prison chaplain.

Under the system now in effect in this prison, the maintenance of order falls, of course, upon the prisoners themselves. In the large workshop, two hundred prisoners were stitching trousers on sewing machines; no free workshop could have looked busier and neater. I found the same spirit of activity and orderliness in the other departments of the institution (laundry, kitchen, hospital); the inmate guards—nine in all—elected from and by the prisoners, attend to the matter of

¹ For purposes of comparison, I might mention that in the well-known Swiss penal institution, Witzwil, there are sixty-five officials and employees for about four hundred prisoners. This is considered to be "a strikingly small staff". See article by Erik Wolf on Witzwil and Regensdorf in *Aschaffenburg's Monatschrift für Kriminalpsychologie*, Vol. 18, pp. 134-43, March, 1927.

² Report of the Board of Trustees of the New Castle County Workhouse, Wilmington, Del., 1925. p. 15.

the prison in Wilmington, in the state of Delaware, which I visited after leaving Philadelphia.

This prison is an object of very great interest; it is perhaps the greatest curiosity in the world of penology. It is unique in a discreditable sense because the small state of Delaware is the only state in the Union that has retained the whipping post as a punishment for criminals. This penalty is imposed by the judge in addition to a prison sentence in cases of robbery and crimes of violence, and the number of strokes to be inflicted is definitely stated in the sentence. The punishment is administered in a courtyard outside the prison, into which the prisoner is led through a tunnel; a limited number of the public—mainly newspaper men from New York City—are admitted. According to the law, the warden must be the hogger; the supervisor only counts the blows. The warden of course is absolutely opposed to the whipping post, and expressed himself to that effect quite frankly at the prison congress in Pittsburgh. The post is used less and less every year as the judges gradually come to realize the futility and paltriness of such a punishment.¹

But with this curious relic of an outgrown past, Wilmington's prison, New Castle County Workhouse (the name is, as noted before, misleading, since the prison receives all kinds of prisoners, short- and long-termers, young and old), is in other ways a pioneer in the field of modern penology. For here the principle of *self-government for prisoners*—the organization of a prison as a community based upon a system of inmate cooperation—has been realized to a greater extent than anywhere else in the United States and, so far as I know, in the world.²

In 1920, the then director—the deeply religious warden, M. S. Plummer, who died in 1922—suggested to his board of managers the institution of a new system of prison administration. "With some fear and reluctance,"³ they granted

¹ The officials of the prison, we read in the *Handbook* (page 174), have stated that they do not believe any good is accomplished by this method of punishment. The fight to abolish this medieval practice failed in the 1925 Legislature.

² See *Handbook*, pp. 58-9 and 174 ff. We will discuss elsewhere the characteristic features of this system, its relation to the idea of education, and its significance for future developments.

³ So we read in the report of the Pennsylvania Prison Society on New Castle County Workhouse in the *Prison Journal*, Vol. 6, January, 1926, p. 13.

of it. And evidently none of the defendants considered the sentence imposed upon her—usually a special task or exclusion from a game or a festival—as unfair or unjust. I only regretted that no notes and records were kept of these disciplinary-court proceedings.

As I took leave of Sleighton Farm—tired out by the multitude of impressions I had received, but filled with the greatness and intensity of the work that is being done there—I was aware that I had had a never-to-be-forgotten object lesson as to the path by which humanity had advanced from Eastern Penitentiary through Glenn Mills School to Sleighton Farm. These three institutions are not, indeed, isolated phenomena, but milestones in the development of history. The first stage, Eastern Penitentiary, is based on the belief that the state has done its duty when it has locked up and isolated the prisoner, and that all the rest lies in the hand of God. The second stage, the training school, tries to do "salvage work" on the delinquents themselves, and provides officials and equipment for that purpose. But the training schools are still hampered by prejudices due to outworn conceptions of crime and the responsibility of the individual, of treatment as a matter of breaking the will through habituation to routine, enforced submission, and mass discipline. Not until the third stage is reached is the fact recognized that the delinquent cannot be reclaimed for society by methods that merely attack his "bad" traits; that the effort must be to foster and strengthen his good qualities, to stimulate him to spontaneous activity and develop his ability to grasp a finer and deeper conception of life. The qualities of righteousness and morality cannot be injected into such people from without, through the medium of instruction and training; the only promise of success lies in a development of these qualities within the individual, beginning with whatever capacity for them he already possesses. It is the recognition of this task that distinguishes modern methods from those of the past; it will be for the future to bring it to fulfillment in the treatment of both juvenile and adult criminals and delinquents.

As a demonstration of the efficacy of this new constructive method in the treatment of adult criminals, let me mention

sincerity and cleanliness of the life lived here—all this is the utmost significance for any one who has to do with problems of education. And there can be no doubt that the same spirit that is at work here—eager and happy and yet imbued with the greatest earnestness and the deepest sense of responsibility—would be fully as effective in the management of prison problems.

At Sleighton Farm the newcomer is first admitted to the receiving cottage for a period of three months. Here medical and psychological examinations are carried on, and at the same time the girl is given some real work—school work, farm work, needlework, or laundry work. After this period, which is considered as a "probation", a conference takes place in which each individual "case" is studied from every possible angle, and the question is decided in which of the honor cottages the girl is to be placed. Great care is taken not to group those who have had comparatively little experience of delinquency with those who are already tragically wise in evil. The honor cottages have self-government—"student government". The members elect a "council", which has charge of order and discipline at meals, at work, and during recreation. Moreover, the girls in each cottage elect from their number a disciplinary court.

I attended a session of the court in the cottage of the colored girls. The chairman of the court quietly formulated the accusation. Then the "sinner" was asked what she had to say in her own defense; as it happened, no defendant on this particular occasion denied the accusation. The defendant was then sent out and the court deliberated on what was to be done, carrying on the discussion with great seriousness, with the obvious desire not to be too harsh; the various possibilities were debated frankly and quietly. The teacher of the cottage—a young Negress of a particularly fine type—as well as the woman disciplinary officer (of the whole institution) helped occasionally with suggestions and advice, without, however, voting officially. Then the defendant was informed of the sentence. There was no suggestion of "play" about it all; the whole procedure struck one with its earnestness, composure, and just weighing of facts. Certainly no disciplinary court of officials could have made a better job

comings and unprogressiveness are unsparingly exposed. The introduction (59 pages) concisely summarizes the essential characteristics of the American prison of to-day, and closes with a clear and forceful exposition of the "prison of the future" as an institution devoted entirely to the constructive ideal of education and rehabilitation. The book deserves the highest praise; it will render invaluable service to the cause of prison reform in America. And it is not only a credit to its authors—it does honor to the whole American people! Imagine—a private organization sends two young criminologists with no official position into state prisons, with the outspoken purpose of informing the public as to whether or not these institutions are using suitable methods in combating crime. And all the prison directors, although they know that serious shortcomings in their prisons, their organizations, and even in themselves, will thus be made public, with the greatest readiness grant these young men free access to their institutions.¹

I might mention still another proof of this courageous and admirable readiness to accept criticism of one's own institutions. The city of Cleveland, Ohio, had in 1920 a criminal scandal trial in which the chief judge of the municipal courts was involved. Suspicion arose that this sensational case was only a symptom of more deep-lying conditions, and it was demanded that the Cleveland Foundation make a scrupulous investigation of the whole administration of criminal justice. This investigation was put into the hands of eleven prominent men; only one reservation was made—that *no member of the commission be chosen from Cleveland*; "only thus can the subtle and often unconscious forces of fear and favor be wholly avoided".² The report appeared in 1922: *Criminal Justice in Cleveland*, edited by two well-known lawyers of Harvard University, Roscoe Pound and Felix Frankfurter.

¹ Difficulties arose in three cases only. The director of the prison at Canyon City, Colorado, refused admittance and any explanation. See the report on the basis of an earlier visit, which was disastrous for him (*Handbook*, pp. 136-51). The Navy Department refused examination of the marine prisons (p. 95). And finally the Department of Justice ignored repeated requests that the wardens of the federal prisons at Leavenworth and McNeil Island be permitted to supply the data necessary for a complete report.

² *Criminal Justice in Cleveland*, preface, p. VII.

With absolutely admirable thoroughness (the report has 714 pages) and frankness, all the branches of criminal justice in Cleveland were investigated for shortcomings. The following list of the various section headings will give some idea of the scope of the inquiry: *Police Administration, Prosecution, The Criminal Courts, Correctional and Penal Treatment, Medical Science and Criminal Justice, Legal Education, Newspapers and Criminal Justice, Criminal Justice and the American City*. Each chapter closes with a series of recommendations as to how the situation may be improved. I do not know whether the reforms demanded will actually be carried out in Cleveland, but certainly the whole procedure arouses one's respect to the highest degree. For Cleveland, substitute Bavaria or East Prussia, and consider whether such a "survey by non-residents" would be possible with us and how much such methods would accomplish in the way of reforming and simplifying our prison system and our criminal justice, and at the same time educating our national conscience!

And now I will try to summarize what else in the way of suggestions and conclusions is to be gleaned from my American experiences. I will take up *first* what we can learn from America *not* to do—that is, how *not* to organize our prisons. Fortunately we have no such institutions as Eastern Penitentiary, Auburn, Sing Sing, and San Quentin, and I hope that in the construction of new prisons we will never take Joliet and Jackson as models. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that to a lesser degree the outworn American traditions of prison construction are still influencing us, inasmuch as we still labor under the delusion that society can be protected by the mere isolation of prisoners in single cells and by mechanical safety devices, such as barred windows, watch towers, and high walls. Such a conception must be utterly discarded; it merely appeals to the emotions of fear and revenge in peaceable citizens, and it puts out of the question the only treatment that is of any real value—educational work with the individual prisoner. Compulsion, continuous observation, and insistence upon outward conformity to rules and regulations make only the caricature of a prison. These same harsh and unyielding measures were once employed in our mental hospitals and "houses of refuge", where they have

since been supplanted by psychological methods that seek to lead the patient back to health through a process of reëducation. That our prisons should follow the same course admits of no question. Therefore, away with monster institutions; there should be not more than three hundred—at the very most, five hundred—prisoners. A large prison must of necessity be conducted on a system of mass treatment and mass discipline, and so at best can be only a smoothly running machine which compels the prisoner's obedience while he is in the institution, but which makes no attempt to prepare him for a life of freedom. *Secondly*, to take up the constructive suggestions that America offers, we should adopt her provisions for a *scientific individual examination of our prisoners*. For institutions in which sentences of upwards of six months are to be served, we need a structurally separate *receiving cottage*, in which every newcomer must remain until a definite diagnosis of his individual make-up (physical, emotional, intellectual, vocational, and developmental) and a careful plan for his treatment can be made. We in Germany—with the exception of a few small beginnings in some of our training schools—are shockingly behind the times in this respect. Our prisons resemble the hospitals of a hundred years ago, in which pulmonary cases, venereal cases, patients suffering from ear or eye diseases, and patients with mental trouble, were all put together in the same room with no attempt at classification. And just as the hospitals of that time were responsible for more new infections than cures, so we cannot wonder that our prisons—in spite of single cells and progressive-merit systems—are still to a great extent schools of corruption (*Verschlechterungsanstalten*). "The officials who preside over these institutions", writes the psychiatrist Herman M. Adler, of Chicago, "are usually as ill equipped for constructive and scientific work as the domestics and window-washers of a hospital to carry out medical and surgical measures of relief. It would never occur to any one, in these days of modern medicine, to entrust a ward full of sick persons to the professional care of a cook, and yet that is what we do over and over again in our correctional and reformatory institutions."¹

¹ *Criminal Justice in Cleveland*, p. 444.

These bitter words are certainly no longer true of certain American institutions (Children's Village, Whittier State School, Clinton Farm and Sleighton Farm, Framingham, and Concord), but as applied to our German conditions I cannot say, unfortunately, that they are, with a few exceptions, any exaggeration. The first attempt of this kind, which began several years ago in the Criminal-biological Clearing House of the Bavarian Prison, Straubing (*Criminal-biologische Sammelstelle des bayrischen Zuchthauses Straubing*), made every effort to establish as quickly as possible the prognosis of incurability, "in order to save the officials in charge of the execution of the sentence useless waste of time and energy".¹ This one phrase is so revealing that criticism is superfluous. In contrast to this, the investigations carried on in the United States by institutions that have adopted the methods of Healy and Bernard Glueck are of an almost unbelievable thoroughness.

These organizations, especially the clearing house at Sing Sing, are worthy of being taken as models. The latter receives all those sentenced to prison in the state of New York. After a careful examination, medical, psychological, and pedagogical—which aims especially at bringing out the anamnestic history as to heredity, school, environmental influences, educational and vocational training, and earlier conflicts—the prisoner is sent, in accordance with the findings, to a farm or industrial prison, to an institution for psychopaths, or to a special institution for tuberculous prisoners. The data secured during the period of observation are recorded, completed, or revised in the light of new data collected in the institution.² Thus the foundation is laid for a scientific

¹ Thus we read in the report of the medical board of the Bavarian State Department of the Interior, on page 59 of a pamphlet published in 1926 by the Bavarian Department of Justice: "*Der Stufenstrafvollzug und die kriminal-biologische Untersuchung der Gefangenen.*"

² See pp. 104ff of the *Report of the Prison Survey Committee* (referred to in note 1, page 243), and the following by Dr. Bernard Glueck: *Types of Delinquent Careers* (MENTAL HYGIENE, Vol. I, pp. 171-95, April, 1917); *First Annual Report of the Psychiatric Clinic in Collaboration with Sing Sing Prison* (New York: The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1917); and *Psychiatric Aims in the Field of Criminology* (MENTAL HYGIENE, Vol. 2, pp. 546-56, October, 1918). See also *Mental Disorder and the Criminal Law*, by S. Sheldon Glueck (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1925).

classification of the individual criminal—a classification that is necessary for placement of the right man in the right institution and for a differentiation of treatment in the institution. Moreover the data thus collected make possible a prognosis for the future and a plan for treatment that will prepare for parole and later for full discharge. The details of this work cannot be given here. But as soon as one understands the principles involved, one cannot doubt that such a receiving and classification bureau would raise our criminal justice out of its present state of “expert ignorance” and dilettantism. Indeed conditions are such that neither the police, the court, nor the prison records contain any actual data as to the development of the prisoner or the success or failure of the methods of treatment used with him. There is thus no possibility of a *scientific examination* of the wealth of material that piles up year after year in our prisons, no attempt being made to utilize it for the enrichment of our knowledge. Prison officials as a rule are not trained for work of this kind, and have not the incentive—indeed even the permission—to make such investigations. Physicians, clergymen, and teachers occasionally make feeble attempts in this direction, but here again nothing is done in the way of systematizing the material and rendering it available for general use. And our psychologists, educators, and jurists, in the universities as well as in practical life, are for the most part held at arm’s length by prison officials, to say nothing of the fact that as a rule there is nothing in academic professional training to serve as a stimulus to such work. Instead of realizing that it is highly desirable, not only from the scientific, but even more from the practical point of view, to make prisons and training schools into laboratories for the accumulation of data on which to base the further development of our jurisprudence and of our educational and social work in the community—instead of realizing all this, each institution works entirely alone, with no definite plan and no other aim than that of meeting the concrete issues that arise from day to day, never, actually never, *sub specie æternitatis*. Therefore, we know really nothing of the individual criminal—nothing, that is to say, that is the result of an objective, critical, consecutive investigation of his life both before and after imprisonment.

Under such circumstances, to arrive—"as quickly as possible"—at a prognosis of incurability is an unscientific procedure, as stultifying in its effects as a hard-and-fast codex of incurable diseases would have been in the undeveloped stage of medicine a hundred years ago.

No, all that we can do to-day is to make a *beginning* on the basis of which the elementary principles of a curative treatment of criminality can be worked out. And for such work a state city like Hamburg offers an incomparably fine opportunity. The behavior problems encountered in our schools and special classes, by our board of child welfare, in our penal courts, in our training schools, in our juvenile prisons, our penal institutions, our institutions for the feeble-minded, and finally in our hospitals for nervous and mental diseases—all this material should be collected in a single *research institute*, that the whole problem, with all its implications and ramifications, may be laid bare for investigation. Just as our industry and agriculture are constantly being stimulated and advanced through their research institutes, and, on the other hand, are continually bringing these institutes new problems for investigation, so our courts, institutions, and schools should enrich one another's experience by mutual contributions to a common work.

If one compares this program with the actual situation to-day, one realizes the contrast between what ought to be and what has been done. I know very well that I am making demands that cannot be met in a day. But, on the other hand, Germany's scientific prestige lays upon her the obligation to set about meeting them, especially in view of the fact that quite apart from their scientific importance, they are certain to be of great practical value in the service of community welfare. And here Hamburg should play the part of pioneer, first by founding a criminal research institute, and secondly by providing a receiving cottage connected with a hospital for the classification of her prisoners.

As a *third* result of my American studies, I emphasize the necessity of instituting in our prisons *really constructive educational work*. On this point I have learned a great deal from America as to what is and what is not really worth while. The progressive-merit system is not, as many of us believe, of

any real importance. It is, in fact, only a *technical aid* in the carrying out of the educational work; it is only a pathmaker, never in itself a part of the real essence and content of the educational work.¹ The experience of American institutions in this field are a warning to us against any overestimation of the value of the progressive-merit system. In not a single prison, and still less in any training school, did I ever hear the promotion of inmates to a higher grade referred to as an essential feature of the work. I always had to inquire about it first, and even in the better class of institutions I was always told that it merely facilitates discipline and is useful for that reason.

What is of decisive importance, however, is the kind of treatment that is given the prisoners, what this treatment is expected to accomplish, and what is regarded as the essential task of the institution. And here the roads divide. There is, first, the method of *repression*. In some details it can of course rise above the level of mere routine and reliance on mass discipline and military drill.² But even so it is still a system that has all the earmarks of unsuccessful educational work. For it works according to a prescription that can never have the slightest effect upon behavior difficulties, emotional instability, and lack of self-control. It aims at enforced habituation to work and order and at a disciplined collective behavior. But as a matter of fact it can merely repress, and so its only effect is to force down into the unconscious whatever the prisoner may be harboring in the way of feelings of inferiority and uncontrolled, reckless desires for the gratification of the cravings of the moment. There in the unconscious this repressed material luxuriates until, the moment the prison door opens, it bursts forth with increased violence. The more a prison depends upon force, in its physical features (mechanical safety devices) and its methods of treatment (compulsory silence, routine work, disciplinary punishments in place of

¹ I emphasized this point even before my American trip, in the *Festschrift für Aschaffenburg*. (*Monatschrift für Kriminalpsychologie, Beiheft 1*, pp. 62-63, 1926.)

² Military drills in institutions should be entirely done away with. They waste a vast amount of energy on tasks that have no educational influences, lead to an overestimation of outward conformity, and divert attention from the main goal—an education of the inner man.

loss of privileges), the stronger will be the impulses toward rebellion and defiance of authority, the tendencies toward instability and an unbridled indulgence of appetites, that will be released upon discharge.

Quite different and much more successful are the methods of the second system—the constructive system whose aim is *to build up from within*, which will be followed by the prison of the future. Not to repress, but to free; not to try to impose “ideals” from without and from above, but to strengthen and develop whatever is useful and valuable in the prisoner himself; not to assume responsibility for him, but to help him gradually assume responsibility for himself—that is the keynote of this method. For its application, of course, a thorough understanding of the individual prisoner is necessary, as well as a staff of officials equipped, not only by training, but by their qualities of enthusiasm and warmth, for this work of fostering the development of the prisoner.

Of details that we should do well to adopt, I might mention the utilization of music, particularly of singing, after the manner of Willem van de Wall, and the *introduction of handicraft work that will stimulate interest and imagination*, like that instituted by Mrs. Hodder.

In this connection I am about to make a suggestion that may surprise many readers—namely, that not only our training schools for boys and young men, but our penal institutions for men, be opened as a field of work for *women*.¹ I know very well that our specific German narrow-mindedness in matters of sex, an inheritance from unnatural and unwholesome traditions, will very likely shrink away from such a suggestion, or simply dismiss it as ridiculous. But that does not alter the fact of its importance. It is an unhealthy thing to exclude women from institutions for the education of problem boys (and later the same thing will undoubtedly be found to hold true for institutions for men); the result is an overstimulated sexuality, which tends to find expression in those perverse fantasies and acts which—as every one knows, although they are very often officially denied—are always

¹ That it is desirable to have women as *physicians* and *ministers* in women's prisons goes without saying.

dangerously active influences, undermining the educational work of the institution. The habitual presence of women in the institution—especially young women of intelligence and charm—and their coöperation in educational and household work, are necessary to clear the typical unwholesome institutional atmosphere. More than that, woman can be a powerful influence in the development of valuable social traits in the prisoners. The delinquent or the young criminal usually knows woman only as an object of bestial, coarsely primitive thoughts and desires. He very often grows up under conditions that lead him to look upon even the female members of his own family in the same light. In the institution he might be given an entirely different conception, a glimpse of a world on a higher plane. Patience and graciousness, charm and warmth—qualities that have been entirely unknown in the dull, narrow lives of most of our criminals—might speak to them from this world, arouse their interest and admiration, and so be able to win them over. I believe that Americans go too far in their evaluation of the services of women. But I am convinced that the educational powers of the feminine psyche could be utilized to great advantage in treating the behavior difficulties of the male sex, and might succeed in developing in such men qualities that they would carry with them into the future—confidence, reliability, chivalry, and a higher conception of woman. And a final, not unimportant point should be mentioned. Even well-conducted training schools very often have an ungracious atmosphere which strikes the sensitive observer at once, and which is often very disillusioning to the official who enters upon his service with untouched ideals. The monotony of institutional life has a demoralizing effect upon both officials and inmates; in time it makes both irritable, quarrelsome, and bad-tempered. The presence of women, bringing into the life of the institution an element of comfort and cheer, would improve this situation.

When one turns from these details to the central idea of constructive institutional work, one finds that a plan is being put into effect in America that impressed me mightily and that is perhaps the most important reform measure that I brought home with me—the plan of “prison democracy”,

"community organization", "self-government".¹ "It is", one reads in Spencer Miller's fine report,² "the participation of the prisoner in his own rehabilitation. In the last analysis, true reform must come from within the prisoner; it is his will which must accord with the social will; his ideals that must be part of the ideals of society . . . prison democracy . . . transforms the prison as a human association into a social community; for its purpose is to train men to assume the obligations of citizenship by reproducing within the institution a condition which approximates as nearly as possible the requirements of social citizenship without prison walls. . . . Men learn by doing. Prisoners learn to become citizens by performing with prisoners the duties of citizenship. 'It is liberty alone which fits men for liberty', to quote the felicitous phrase of Gladstone. Men in prison must learn in an area of restricted liberty the social obligations of democracy."

This idea of self-government centers around the great personality of Thomas Mott Osborne. Through his vehement criticism of existing prison conditions—and perhaps because of certain shortcomings in his own nature—he had raised up such a host of opponents to his work in America that when the news of his death was received on the last day of the Pittsburgh Congress, no one in that body of prison experts paid him the tribute of a farewell word. But another body, the Mutual Welfare League of the prisoners in Sing Sing, which he had founded, expressed their gratitude and love for him and his work in a message of condolence to his family. It is no mere coincidence either that the experts whose attitude toward prison problems is at once the most scientific and the most idealistic were the very ones who took his part throughout: Kirchwey—who, as Osborne's successor at Sing Sing, carried out his idea of self-government successfully for a year—Calvin

¹ For a detailed exposition and analysis of self-government in prisons and training schools, see *Die Selbstverwaltung der Gefangenen*, by Clara Maria Liepmann. *Hamburgische Schriften zur gesamten Strafrechtswissenschaft*, Heft 12, pp. 1-226, January, 1928.

² *Penal Progress and Prison Democracy*, by Spencer Miller, Jr. (Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Annual Congress of the American Prison Association, by the Welfare League Association, 1921) pp. 14 and 16. Spencer Miller was assistant warden in Sing Sing, and is now secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau in New York.

Derrick, MacCormick and Garrett, Spencer Miller, Mrs. Hodder, and Healy.¹ This alone should give pause to the opponents of his method. Moreover, the plan can no longer be looked upon as the crazy experiment of a single individual. It has proved its vitality and usefulness during a period of six years, in Wilmington and, in spite of the almost overwhelming handicap of an out-of-date plant, still longer in Auburn and Sing Sing. It is in effect in all really good reformatories and training schools. The fact that a number of institutions—for instance, Rahway—have given it up again is of no real significance in view of its results elsewhere. It calls for a staff of officials, and above all a director, who are convinced of the futility of repressive methods, who are able to conduct an education from within out, and whose understanding of the prisoners, based upon actual knowledge of the individuality of each, is such that they can, without delay, eliminate from the self-governing body prisoners who are not fitted for it by reason of psychopathic or other defects.

Above all, however, one should remember that this "prison democracy" is not something new and strange in the development of penology. Americans especially should realize that it is a direct consequence of the ideas promulgated by E. C. Wines. His postulates, which were adopted by the prison congress in Cincinnati (1870)—that prison discipline must gain the good will of the prisoner if it is really to reform him; that the interests of society and of the prisoner are in fact identical; that the self-respect of the prisoner should be developed to the utmost²—these postulates are the premises from which the necessity and the value of self-government inevitably follow.

And any one who has once realized that prison problems are not in a world by themselves, but are inseparably connected with educational problems in general, finds to his joy and surprise that the German educators of to-day, in their treatment of delinquent, difficult, and neglected human beings, have arrived at exactly the same solutions and conclusions.

¹ Healy said of Osborne's work: "It is economically right, morally right, socially right, and psychiatrically right." Quoted by Spencer Miller, *loc. cit.*, p. 16.

² See Theses 12, 13, and 14 in *Declaration of Principles Promulgated at Cincinnati, Ohio, 1870*, Vol. 1, pp. 39-63 of *Correction and Prevention*, edited by Charles Henderson. New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1910.

The new reformatory pedagogy—we read in the masterful paper of Herman Nohl, professor of scientific pedagogy at Göttingen¹—sees in the pupil “no longer an enemy who must be subdued before he can be fitted into the social order, but some one who is entangled in difficulties from which one is trying to free him” (page 2). “The old education was concerned with the difficulties that the child *makes*, the new one with those that the child *has*” (page 6). A plan of education that proceeds on this basis has no use for “drill, compulsion, and habituation to routine”. To bind the pupil to his teacher with bonds of trust and confidence, to enlist the pupil’s *own desires* and his *sense of responsibility* in the task of directing his instincts and impulses to higher aims and social purposes (pages 3 and 7)—these are the principles, derived from the experience of educators in general, that Nohl lays down as the basis not only of educational therapy for mental patients, but of educational work in reformatories and prisons as well.

APPENDIX²

“The following is part of a letter addressed to Governor Alfred E. Smith by an inmate of Sing Sing Prison on October 17, 1925. This letter is worthy of the attention of the members of our Legislature, and of those who are under the impression that Sing Sing abounds in joys and attractions, since too much to this end has been said, especially by those who have never visited the institution.

“ ‘I have been in Sing Sing since June, 1917, having spent eighteen months in the death house. On Nov. 28, 1918, my sentence of death was commuted to natural-life imprisonment by Governor Whitman. I am entering my ninth year in Sing Sing now.

“ ‘In 1920, when you spoke at Sing Sing on the occasion of the laying of the corner stone which was the initial step in the work of rebuilding Sing Sing, the promise of a new cell, with at least halfway human attributes, instilled in the heart of myself, and in the hearts of all who were confined at that time, a feeling of gratitude and hope which mere words never could express. At last we were on the threshold of a more healthful place to sleep than was our existing lot.

“ ‘The conditions existing in the cell block here at Sing Sing to-day, and which have existed for scores of years, are deplorable beyond com-

¹ *Erziehungsgedanken für die Erziehungstätigkeit des Einzelnen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Erfahrungen von Freud und Adler* in the journal, *Die Erziehung*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-9, October, 1926.

² Extract from the *Eighty-first Annual Report of the Prison Association of New York*, 1925. pp. 18-19. (Legislative Document, No. 17, 1926.)

prehension from a sanitary standpoint. *The cell block was condemned as unsanitary and unfit for human habitation more than fifty years ago, but we are occupying the same cells to-day, and will continue to do so until the new buildings here are completed.*

"We are confined in a cell 3 feet, 6 inches wide and 6 feet, 11 inches long and 6 feet, 7 inches high, with a door the lower half of which is solid sheet iron and the upper with crossbar openings about two inches square.

"The cells are unfit for a dog and have been so described on many occasions by public-spirited citizens of high standing in their communities. They are cold and damp, and the walls and ceilings are actually wet to the dripping point during the summer months.

"It is a regular thing, when getting up in the morning, to be confronted with the necessity of putting on clothing almost wringing wet. This condition is easily understandable when one gets a view of the cell. It is of solid stone irregularly built with projecting pieces from the sides and ceiling, and the only ventilation is through the small openings in the top of the doors. There are no windows in these old cells.

"The cells have long since been condemned as breeders of disease, and in my experience of five years as a worker in the hospital at Sing Sing, I have seen many men who were in good physical condition on their arrival gradually fail in health. They have contracted rheumatism, tubercular conditions, pneumonia, and in many cases I have seen men develop a rheumatic condition of the fingers and toes almost unbelievable.

"It is a common occurrence here to see men transferred to Clinton Prison, in the upper part of the state, on account of broken health, and all because of the conditions of the cells they are forced to occupy.

"The work of completing the new buildings on the hill adjoining the old prison here is progressing slowly, as you know only too well, due to the lack of funds, as I understand it. There are some 300 cells now being used in the new building, but only those who have comparatively short sentences are eligible for their occupancy, due to the fact that the wall around the new buildings is not yet finished.

"There has so much been said about the ease and comfort of those confined in Sing Sing, yet I have never heard of any one, and I include members of the bench and bar, citizens of standing in our community, and from other parts of the country, who have any conception of the horrible sleeping conditions afforded us in the living tomb here.

"One look has been sufficient for each and every visitor to shudder; they seem in a haze when they look into the cells, almost trying to convince themselves, it seems, that this is a relic of more barbarous days, not of the twentieth century. It simply does not exist in this enlightened age. But it does exist and we here know it full well.

"I have many times hoped that some of our critics, those who do not understand that it is because of this horrible cell block—and for no other reason—that we are permitted the use of the chapel evenings, for a moving picture or lecture of some kind, could witness the morning turnout.

"I have seen men come out of their cell block mornings, carrying their buckets and fairly staggering into the open from the effects of the stifling, damp, muggy condition of the cell where they spent the previous ten or twelve hours.' "

COMPETITIONS AND THE CONFLICT OVER DIFFERENCE

THE "INFERIORITY COMPLEX" IN THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF CHILDHOOD *

LAWSON G. LOWREY, M.D.

Director, Institute for Child Guidance, New York City

THERE are a number of so-called "instinctive" drives which are powerful influences in the behavior of people, their social adjustment, or their adjustment within themselves. These drives are also very important in those forms of disintegration of the personality that are called neuroses and psychoses. Two of these drives I should like to discuss because of their great importance in the behavior problems of children. These are the instinctive drives for *self-assertion* (a term that is not exactly adequate—perhaps Dr. Kenworthy's term "self-maximation" is better) and for *group recognition*—that is, to be admitted and valued as a member of the social groups with which the individual comes in contact. The other drives that are important in determining behavior and social and personal adjustment are deliberately eliminated from consideration here.

These two instinctive drives are not fully formed at birth or even in early life, and certain phases of them become pronounced only when the child begins to be a real social unit in the sense that he leaves home to take part in activities that bring him into contact with those not of his own family group. But from the beginning of anything that can be recognized as "conscious" life in the child, there is evidence of the fact that the *ego* itself is slowly growing, and that the process of comparison has begun. This process continues throughout life and may produce not only many successes, but also a great many difficulties.

In the earliest phase, comparisons are made very largely

* Based on a lecture delivered January 13, 1927, in the Yale Series of Lectures on Mental Hygiene.

between the self and those individuals who can be observed in the environment, and goals are erected in terms of these people. So the child desires to "grow up", to be "large" and "adult", and, as many children phrase it, "independent". At home, this process of comparison is first applied to the parents and to any brothers and sisters there may be, whether they are older or younger.

Out of both early and late experiences in comparing the self with the members of one's own family and others, there is built up in every individual an ideal with a double profile. One is the ideal for the self, a sort of "ideal picture of what one should be" as determined by the individual's own wishes for himself. The other is a picture of what the individual believes to be the "ideal of the group" in which he lives. This picture, incidentally, may be quite false and dependent on the individual's own imagination, but in any case it is determined for the individual by deductions from the opinions expressed by the groups or group of which he is a part; or, in some instances, certain naïve conclusions of his own concerning what their opinions *should be* (which means only what *his own* opinions would be under similar circumstances). Toward the realization of both of these ideals he strives.

The child gradually evolves certain standards by which to measure himself against himself, and certain standards that represent his notion of the ideals of the group. Whether these are imagined or real is relatively unimportant so far as their effect upon behavior is concerned. During the early period of life, these standards are dictated very largely by the child's relationships with the family—i.e., by the expressed standards and ambitions of the family, or by the child's conceptions of the family standards. Apparently the child has in the beginning the belief that his own family is quite fine, that his father and mother are the finest representatives of humans that there are. Of course, early experiences in the family group may, in and of themselves, operate to produce some doubts of this particular belief, but ordinarily such doubts do not begin until the child experiences a more complex situation. For example, when the child goes to school, a series of modifying factors enter in relationship to the standards established during family life. There are then developed a new series of competi-

tions on an entirely different level, so that the standards of comparison change. The number of things concerning which the child compares itself changes, and it may be that for the first time he realizes that there are in the world other individuals superior to him in innate strength in any comparative or competitive field.

In any case, this process of comparison of the self with the group, and of the self with the standards which the individual thinks the group—or certain important members of it—has, is a constant one. It continues into adult life and is particularly marked, it seems to me, at the period of adolescence. Here a new zone of comparisons and competitions is entered: the mating competition, on the one hand, and the final struggle for emancipation from the home on the other.

In making these comparisons, the individual constantly tries to *assert* himself. That is, he tries to equal or to rise superior to his own standards or those of the group. In the many > types of competition, he attempts to achieve for himself a feeling of (personal) adequacy or, if you like, a feeling of superiority. At the same time there is the effort, conscious or unconscious, to make the group recognize and perhaps praise his abilities, his capacities, and his importance to the group, so that he may not only feel secure within himself, but also may feel secure when in or with the group.

There is possible here some conflict between the desire of the individual to express himself completely and the need for *suppressing* some of the ways in which he might express himself in order that he may become a proper member of the social group, whether that social group be the family, the class, the college, professional or business associates, or whatever the group may be.

The whole situation is somewhat complicated by certain emotional factors in development. It is now fairly well recognized that, for the child, the images of perfect adults are found in father and mother, and that in the relationships between parents and child are found the first well-defined evidences of any type of love life in the individual. This original love life is apparently of the worshipful type. That is to say, the direction of the love interest is such that the individual wishes to be like the father or the mother. Also,

there is a wish to command the respect and the love of the parent. This situation becomes rather important in the evolution of the standards by which one compares oneself with other people.

So far as we know, every individual is different in some way from every other individual in the world. As an individual makes comparisons and finds that he differs from some other individual for whom he has a great deal of respect, or differs from the standards of a group in some way, there are apparently certain reactions that may take place. It is as if the individual were striving to be a complete and *absolutely perfect* whole. This striving, if you like, is for a position of complete superiority, for a feeling of complete independence, and for complete self-security. (Wherever differences (between ideal and real or fancied situations) exist, they produce—or tend to produce—in the individual a feeling of a lack of perfection—*i.e.*, a failure to reach the ideal standards that he has set up. Then comes the possibility of an emotional conflict over the fact that his perfection is not so great as he could wish. It is this *conflict over difference* from a *real or ideal* standard that is commonly called the “inferiority complex”. There is apt to be confusion as to what an inferiority complex really is. Must the individual actually have an inferiority as the basis for an inferiority complex? Or is it only the individual who has no actual inferiority who can suffer from the inferiority complex? It has seemed to me, therefore, that we should set up exactly what it is that we are trying to analyze and discuss in terms of *the conflicts that emerge over the differences that the individual finds between himself and the group or his ideals.*

These conflicts may revolve around all sorts of differences. For example, in the field of intelligence, we find just as many children who would be rated as “superior to the average” suffering from such “conflicts over difference”, with resulting disturbances in their behavior, as children who are rated “inferior to the average”. In other words, it isn’t a question of the absolute superiority or inferiority. It is, instead, a question of the difference between the individual and the group to which he must adjust, the individual’s reaction to such difference, and the group’s reaction to all this. The

group always has a tendency, quite unconscious and quite uncontrolled, to want either to exclude the individual who is different or to remake him more in the likeness of the group. These trends are more or less inevitable, so far as I can see. Hence the youngster who is too bright for his group is apt to find himself in difficulty with his mates, who by their behavior toward him emphasize the differences they see.

If we consider the standards that emerge at certain stages in the development of children, to be too bright is a very serious thing. For example, in boys from about the age of eight to twelve, the quality of intellectual brightness is not particularly important. What is important is the quality of physical roughness. This represents the beginning surge of the ultra-masculinity which youngsters at that stage consider, consciously or unconsciously, most desirable. Therefore, the very bright, but frail boy in this particular age group is apt to have a pretty serious time. If, added to this, there is a doting mother who insists upon dressing the boy according to her own standards and taste instead of the standards and taste of the group with which the boy must play, there develops a very serious situation indeed. Such a youngster is called a "sissy" by his group, is not permitted by them to take part in their ordinary sports, and receives from them no type of recognition for achievement. Because he is bright and perhaps gets his lessons well (he can't get out and play with the other boys, so he has more time to study), he is promptly called "teacher's pet", and there is set up the whole process of exclusion from the group, with all its possible dynamic effects upon the inner emotional life of the boy.

There are also social issues which may enter into the production of conflicts. There is, for example, the problem of race. We may have in a given territory—or a given district of a large city—a single family of one race surrounded more or less completely by families of another. Thus we find that a rather serious problem is created when there is a single Italian family in a colored neighborhood, or a single colored family in some white neighborhood, or a single Irish family in the midst of a Jewish or Italian or Polish or other variety of neighborhood. There is always the question, too, of foreign birth, foreign standards, the type of family that attempts to

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maintain an Old-Country home, though the children are going to American schools and are hence more or less coming in contact with American standards. These children often begin to feel a great sense of social inferiority because of the difference between their own home standards and the standards of the homes of the other children; they begin to rebel against the maintenance of their home as a foreign home, and a conflict is set up not only in the child, but between the child and the parent. Eventually some of our most serious and, from the standpoint of treatment, most difficult behavior problems emerge from such settings.

The point here is that the social situation in which a child is placed is different from, although not necessarily inferior to, the social situation of his companions. This social picture could be very greatly elaborated. There is the problem, for example, of the kind of training that is given in the home for meeting adequately and independently the larger competitive life when the child goes outside the home. There is the question of the type of behavior that is permitted or sometimes encouraged in the home, and its relationship to the behavior encouraged in other groups. There is the problem of inadequacies within the home itself, such as in the relationship between the mother and father, which produce in the child conflicts in his own developing interest in father and mother, and also bring about unfavorable comparisons of the child's own home with other homes.

Many of you have seen at one time or another the child who, in visiting a strange home, sighs plaintively and says, "Gee, I wish our mother would let us do the same kind of things the children here can do!" That is just such a situation.

Then there is poverty and the inability of the family to maintain itself on the same level as others with which the child comes in contact. There is the problem of delinquencies of all kinds within the family, which bring upon the family, and particularly upon the child, either directly or by reflection of the family attitude, some feeling of shame and a tendency to withdraw from the group.

The list of *social factors* could be multiplied indefinitely and almost anything that represents a difference in the

not in all cases; *in fact we feel far superior than you*

organization or position of families may be enough to produce in a given individual some "conflict over difference".

There are also *physical conditions* in the individual that may produce a conflict over difference. For example, the height and how far it deviates from the average in either direction in the very short man, the very tall woman, the very tall and thin girl, and the very much undersized boy. These deviations frequently produce much conflict, leading the individual to feel inferior to, or at least different from, the group. So it is with underweight and overweight. These are all especially important if constantly emphasized, by ridicule or other methods, by parents or playmates. What is called beauty may also cause trouble. There is a convention that we do not speak of "beautiful" boys or men; we speak only of beautiful girls, women, and babies. For a boy to be beautiful, or called so, makes for difficulties, as also happens when a girl is homely or called so. Anything that mars the physical appearance or activity of the individual may also serve to determine one of these conflicts, especially if the handicap is constantly stressed.

For instance, a young lady of about twenty-five had been having some difficulties in adjusting to her job and to the people with whom she must work. One of the most interesting points about her was that she had been told, from the time she was a small child, that it was a good thing she had brains, because she was certainly too homely for any one to pay any attention to her. This had been, for her, an overwhelming thing, and she had come to the point where she had quite neglected her appearance, so that she had become actually rather slovenly. She felt, what was the use? In the meantime, she was depending upon her "brains" to get her across, but, as is usually true in these compensatory efforts, she overdid in her attempt to be regarded as intelligent. The first element in her readjustment was to encourage her to pay more attention to her physical appearance, thereby relieving the existing emotional strain. This whole problem of appearance, let me insist, is far more important in determining a smooth quality of mental life in the child than most of us have ever surmised. Its great importance is not realized

until one begins dealing with the children and finds out their reactions to older people's attitudes toward their appearance.

Another physical constitutional factor is what might be called a general fragility. This is the "ethereal type" of child, extremely susceptible to diseases of all kinds—with no specific disease, but simply a heightened sensitivity which interferes seriously with most of his competitive life. Then there is the so-called "asthenic constitution". This is recognized in all of medicine, so far as I can see. It has different names in different countries, and even in different cities, but fundamentally it refers to a child who is somewhat like this—the long, very thin type, with long and shallow chest and usually flaring scapulæ, usually with generalized enlargement of the lymph nodes, with pale and somewhat waxen skin, and unable, as a rule, to carry on the normal amount of work for a child of that age without showing extreme evidences of fatigue. The fatigue is chronic, and restlessness and over-activity are very common as reactions to it. These cases present very difficult problems from the standpoint of both behavior and treatment. An interesting attempt has been made to link up these cases of asthenic constitution with persistent thymus, and some reports have been made to indicate that this should be found, but in our own cases, when we have been able to work out the problem, we have found no evidence of the persistence of a thymus larger than it should be at the given age.

Aside from the factors of physical constitution—all of which, it must be emphasized, are factors limiting the possible success of the individual in competition—there are many other possibilities. One is that of physical disease. Any chronic disease which reduces the capacity of the individual to perform in any way, particularly muscularly (or, as we commonly say, physically), such as chronic heart disease, chronic tuberculosis, certain types of chronic thyroid disorders, the crippling effects of infantile paralysis, and so on through a long list of interfering, but not completely disabling chronic diseases—any of these is sufficient to produce a marked difference in the child in competition with its fellows. When the difference exists, there usually develops some emotional conflict and then some type of disturbance in behavior

or adjustment. These cases are most difficult indeed in treatment.

In addition to the social and physical, there is a third group of factors, centering about the mental life of the individual, which may operate to bring about this feeling of difference. In the first rank I should place intellectual defect or feeble-mindedness. The intellectually defective child who is being held to the standards that fit the normal child is handicapped in competition to a point where some pathological effects are to be expected. It is worth while stressing again the point, however, that not only the mentally defective child, but also the intellectually superior child is different from the group and often develops the same feeling of conflict over difference. This is particularly emphasized when the intellectually superior child is doing work far below his capacity in school and is failing. The highest intelligence quotient we have ever found in any child was in a ten-year-old boy with an intelligence quotient of 180, equivalent to a mental age of eighteen, and an intellectual ability superior to that of the average college freshman. He was perfectly able, on the basis of educational-achievement tests, to do high-school work, but was actually failing in the fifth grade. There was, of course, in that grade nothing to challenge his interest or attention, and he simply passed it by. He had an enormous feeling of inferiority, or conflict over difference from the group, which had led him to various types of compensatory behavior such that they were about ready to expel him from school as incorrigible. To make matters worse, his family had decided that he was hopelessly "dumb and incorrigible" and thought that perhaps the best thing they could do for him would be to send him to a state institution where he would be subjected to discipline that would break up his "evil habits".

There are also types of qualitative intellectual difference that may bring about conflict. In these cases, the individual whose intelligence is quantitatively all right is qualitatively quite different from the group with which he lives, and so develops a conflict. His abilities may not meet the family ambitions, or his special talents may be rejected by them. Their opposition and criticism are sure to produce conflict. If habits (habits, you know, are partly due to inner stresses and

partly due to environmental factors) depart widely from the group, there will again be difficulty.

What happens to an individual who is being frustrated in his desire to be perfect, or to be recognized by the group—i.e., one who feels personally insecure and feels insecure in the group? There are, apparently, three major types of reaction to such situations. Two of these are extreme and always make for trouble, and one seems to be the normal type of reaction, permitting a normal adjustment both to the self and to the group. In the first place, the individual may be overwhelmed by these differences, and so overcome by “feelings of inferiority”. When that occurs, a withdrawing type of reaction develops. Such individuals cease to be social—if, indeed, they ever were—are no longer particularly interested in competition with the group, lead a very inadequate type of social life, have apparently no self-confidence, and their thoughts are bound up within themselves. They become what is called *seclusive* or *shut-in*.

When carefully studied, it appears that these individuals are really constrained to live in themselves and there lead a very vivid life of fantasy, in which for the most part the things that they would like to achieve in real competition are brought about by means of words. That is to say, through the use of the imagination, they build up for themselves a picture of what they would like to do and to be, and in their imagination they do and are those things. Such individuals as a rule read a great deal because this forms another outlet for their desires. In reading of this type the individual usually sees himself in what he is reading, and more or less experiences (in imagination) what is going on. Such children also are more than usually interested in moving pictures, because again they can read themselves into situations and so procure release of emotional tensions. This is true for others than children also, in more ways than one.

The difficulty with this type of withdrawn, highly imaginative life is that in imagination anything can be made to come true without the necessity of facing reality—i.e., resort to a great deal of difficult work in order that the dreams or ambitions may be realized. The result may be so great a with-

drawal from reality, and such an inability to face it, that the individual becomes a total social loss.

To some extent, of course, every one has frustrations for which he seeks an outlet within himself, and so deals with them in an imaginative or other fashion. But when this becomes the dominant mode of behavior of the individual, an unsuccessful life is certain.

The second type of reaction that may appear is that which I should regard as the normal and the one through which most people make their adjustments to their own difficulties. It may be expressed somewhat in this way. There is a limitation, and the individual says, "Yes, what of it? I have this limitation, but I also have a strength somewhere else." This is the type of natural compensation, where the individual makes up, psychologically, for a weakness with a strength and is not emotionally disturbed. So, to use a newspaper example, the girl who is "beautiful, but dumb", compensates for her dumbness by being beautiful; often the boy who is physically frail and cannot take part in ordinary physical activities has a natural compensation for it in the keenness of his intelligence. These natural compensations which exist in large numbers are the things that help to develop in most people the feeling of adequacy and security that they get—and need.

The third type of reaction, however, is one in which the individual, facing a limitation, does not submit to it and does not have a natural compensation for it, but instead rebels, is unwilling to accept the limitation, and begins to try to force his way through the situation. The commonest type of reaction of this sort is what might be called the reaction by "extravagant behavior". Such children are lively and energetic and do a great many things. They exaggerate almost everything they do or say. They are the children who are "so impudent", according to the schoolteacher. They are the children who do not accept the ordinary rules of order in the schoolroom or elsewhere. They are the ones who always answer questions, whether they are called on or not. They are constantly fighting with other children over minor matters. They "push and pull in the line". One very excellent descriptive word for their behavior is that they are "show-offs". They always have a large tale to tell. It is very

difficult sometimes to find out how much of it is true and how much exaggeration. They always have something new to offer. They make in the schoolroom, with its attempt at ordered existence, a great deal of trouble indeed. Very frequently, of course, these children, because of their emotional conflict and their fixation on this drive for attention, fail to pay attention to their major purpose in school, and so are failures in their school work.

At home, much the same type of behavior is apt to occur, although as a rule the energetic, show-off type of child is fairly successful in getting satisfying attention at home, much more so than he is at school. For one thing, constant association with this type of behavior eventually wears out the parents and they get to the point where they give in and do as is desired rather than go through all the difficulties involved in a refusal. These children play truant from school and home, and lie both imaginatively and defensively. They represent the large group of disobedient children that come to us for study. "Splurge" stealing is also frequently a compensatory piece of behavior, which works out in somewhat this fashion: Frustrated in their competition with the group, they search around, as we all do, for various ways in which they may achieve a feeling of security in that competition. One of the things that they frequently discover is that other children like candy, sweets of various kinds, presents of all types, and they find that to secure these presents, the most necessary thing is money. They find also that when they have the money and make the presents, they become the heroes of the group, with the result that a mechanism is at once set in operation because of the feeling of emotional security that they develop from the reactions shown by others to this particular type of behavior.

One of the most interesting petty thieves I ever saw—and one of the most skilful—was a boy who had an enormous conflict about himself because he was crippled as a result of infantile paralysis. Whatever he stole he used for his companions, rarely keeping any of it for himself. It was a matter with him of purchasing the companionship which he was denied because he could not run and play as could the other boys.

This mechanism of splurge stealing is, in our experience, the commonest psychopathological mechanism involved in stealing by children, much commoner, curiously enough, than the desire for possession for its own sake. The desire for possession for its own sake operates chiefly in younger children who as yet have no particular standards with respect to property rights. Splurge stealing occurs in the older ones, who have acquired some standards.

We had one boy who was the only Jewish boy in an Irish neighborhood and who was, of course, much teased by this group of Irish boys. Two things happened. He found that if he could "lick" the boys when they first began to taunt him, they became fast friends and all got along well. As part of his compensation for the conflict over difference between himself and the other boys, he developed fighting ability until he came to be one of the leading amateurs in his weight in the city and quite consistently the prize winner at all amateur bouts. But, on another side, the results were quite unfortunate. His "gang" being one of the neighborhood gangs that supported itself by raiding back porches and fruit stands and so on, he became fairly adept along these lines. The gang at one time built a shack, stealing material for it, and wanted a billiard table. I don't think anything else would have stumped them, but they didn't see any way to steal a billiard table, so this boy did the trick. He got into his father's store at a proper time one day, and abstracted from the safe ninety dollars with which they *bought* a billiard table, and the gang was properly equipped. There again he was satisfying by this particular splurge method his desire for recognition and leadership in the group.

These examples may suffice to indicate that this third type of compensatory behavior of which I have been speaking may run the whole gamut of socially objectionable behavior. Some of this behavior is not necessarily unhealthy, so far as the individual is concerned. Some of it is quite successful from the standpoint of gaining group recognition and the feeling of security in the group. Most of it, on the other hand, is socially objectionable and so creates a more difficult condition for the youngster, and then we have the spectacle of an increase in the type of reaction, whatever it may be, in the

attempt not only to solve the original conflict over the difference, but to justify this *new behavior* which is being reacted to by others in such manner that the individual really feels more insecure in the group than he did before he began to compensate. The problem of treatment then becomes one of substituting socially acceptable methods of gaining the feeling of security and of recognition from the group for those methods, already used, which are socially objectionable. This is not always easy. It isn't always easy, for example, to convince a schoolteacher that a youngster who is most disobedient, who is the most serious disturbing factor in her room, will probably give her very little trouble and be a decided asset to her if she can work out for him some duties in the room for which she would occasionally give him a word of praise. And yet, time after time, when the problem is worked out in even so simple a manner as this, we find a marked diminution of the objectionable behavior.

I have left out of this discussion all consideration of the integration of the love life; also of the integration of the drive for independence which determines so much of the conflict between adolescents and their parents and so many of the behavior difficulties of the adolescent. [This I have done because I wanted to stress the one issue of the *conflict over difference* occurring in children as the major problem in the psychopathology of childhood.] To be sure, these other conflicts arise. They arise in relationship to the love life, in relation to the drive for self-preservation, and so on, but the number of cases in which those are outstanding factors is slight, so far as children are concerned, by comparison with the group in which the conflict over difference becomes the outstanding pathological feature. In determining final results, we have to remember that, whatever the behavior pattern, there is always the question of the relationship between the home environment and the make-up of the child. The child finds ready made in its home certain kinds of behavior, certain kinds of attitudes and reactions, to adjust to. He may accept them (in which case we are apt to speak of it as *imitation*) or he may reject them (in which case we are apt to speak of the child as *negativistic* and get some sort of idea that he is overstubborn or constitutionally defective) or he may

develop a conflict over them. Thus we find that children in the same family tend to vary their behavior pattern according to the competition they have from other children in the family. This is, of course, related to the drive each youngster has to become the center of the family and of the affection and attention of the family. There are many factors in family and love life which tend to produce conflicts over difference.

Let me summarize, then, by saying that differences, real or imagined, which the individual sees or feels between himself and his own ideals or what he conceives to be the ideal of the group, occurring in any aspect of physical, mental, or social life, may and do produce profound emotional conflicts and all the various types of disturbing behavior, the latter representing an attempt at compensation such that the individual will have a satisfied ego and a feeling of security in the group.

PSYCHIATRY AND ITS RELATION TO THE TEACHING OF MEDICINE *

FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS, M.D.

Medical Director, The National Committee for Mental Hygiene

I SPEAK as one who has chosen to specialize in medicine, and, therefore, one whose point of view may be distorted. All that I may say can easily be discounted in the beginning if one chooses to do so, but I believe I see the situation fairly clearly and that I can judge it dispassionately.

The present tendency in the teaching of medicine is to separate the basic courses from the special courses; to confine the work of the undergraduate years to the basic courses, leaving the special courses for postgraduate work. This has been made necessary as a result of the condition which arose from the zealous crowding in of courses in specialized medicine to the serious detriment of basic training. This burdening of the curriculum worked badly in both directions. It took away time from basic courses without greatly profiting the specialties, as the time that could be allotted to any one specialty was so small as to be inadequate. Ground that would require a year to be covered adequately had to be crowded into the space of a few weeks. This created serious difficulties for the instructor and almost damnation for the student. The present tendency, therefore, to confine the medical undergraduate years more closely to so-called basic courses, will be generally approved, I believe, although the question immediately arises as to what is basic and what should be considered special.

My own view is that courses in formal psychiatry, such as are now generally given in the medical schools, are to be considered as special. Problems of mental disease arise in the practice of every physician, and, therefore, every medical

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student should have some instruction in psychiatry. Problems of mental disease, however, are not the problems that the practicing physician meets most frequently, and, therefore, the teaching of formal psychiatry should not encroach too seriously upon the time that should be given to those conditions with which the physician will have to deal daily. Elaborate courses in formal psychiatry, by which I mean instructions in the signs, symptoms, ætiology, and treatment of the various mental diseases with emphasis upon the finer points in differential diagnosis, should not be given to the detriment of instruction in conditions to be met with more commonly. It is more important that the general physician be able to diagnose a gastric ulcer or a mitral stenosis than it is that he be able to differentiate between dementia præcox and manic-depressive insanity.

This seems to me but common sense. Medical education, however, has not been built on the basis of common sense, nor are the enthusiasms of specialists likely to be founded on common sense. Common sense would indicate that before planning a course of instruction either for a profession or a trade, the question should be raised as to precisely what the person is to be required to do after he has entered upon his profession or trade. The manufacturer, stimulated by a business sense and the necessity of making an accounting, has developed what is called a job analysis. He has found this of great value in giving him a clearer understanding both of the type of person to be sought for the various jobs in his establishment and the precise training necessary properly to equip an individual to meet adequately the demands of the job. Job analysis—precisely what does a given worker do; just what is expected of him?—is now a common practice in the industrial field and is arousing growing interest in some professional groups.¹

¹ The first professional group to study their work from the point of view of job analysis is, so far as I know, the social workers. The Research Committee of the American Association of Social Workers began a series of such analyses in 1922. Three vocational reports have been made: *Vocational Aspects of Psychiatric Social Work*; *Vocational Aspects of Family Case-Work*; *Vocational Aspects of Medical Social Work*. The committee now has ready for publication *What Does the Social Worker Do?* which is a job analysis of family case-work, medical social work, and psychiatric social work. It is the plan of the committee to continue

Such an analysis has never been made of the practice of medicine. Although medical schools have been training physicians for a hundred and fifty years in this country, no study has ever been made to discover what actually a physician has to do once he enters the practice of medicine. Training has now been controlled by scientific idealists and now by (in any given faculty) a few "practical" men, who judge the needs by their own enthusiasms and necessarily narrow practical experience. Neither in the one instance nor in the other, nor in the compromises that are sometimes worked out, has real consideration, based upon accurate knowledge, been given to what is the crux of the whole matter—what actually constitutes the job of being a physician—not what should it be, what would we like it to be, but what it is. Fortunately a group¹ is now at work upon this very problem, and we may look forward to their report with the hope that it will throw considerable light upon how physicians can be trained to meet most competently the medical problems that will eventually constitute their practice.

For reasons that are easily understood, medical education these studies until the field of social work has been covered. In this connection also attention may well be called to a bold departure on the part of psychiatric social workers from the usual timorous and defensive attitude maintained by most professional groups in analysis of self in relation to job, technique, and method. All professional groups discuss critically their professional techniques and methods; I know of no other group that has carried the discussion the further step (and all-important step) of analyzing the relation of the worker himself to that technique or method. While it might have been expected that the psychiatrist would be first to do this, it has not been so. It has taken a younger and probably more vigorous profession with less professional prestige to maintain. The psychiatrist takes himself for granted and applies his knowledge, technique, and method to his patient; he does not consider—there are exceptions, of course—the personal relation of himself to that technique and method. See *How Case-Work Training May Be Adapted to Meet the Worker's Personal Problems*, by Grace F. Marcus (MENTAL HYGIENE, Vol. 11, pp. 449-59, July, 1927); *1926 Emphases in Psychiatric Social Case-Work*, by Alice M. Leahy, (MENTAL HYGIENE, Vol. 10, pp. 743-50, October, 1926); *The Psychiatric Social Worker's Technique in Meeting Resistance*, by Marion E. Rannels (MENTAL HYGIENE, Vol. 11, pp. 78-123, January, 1927).

¹ Commission on Medical Education, under the auspices of the Association of American Medical Colleges, Willard C. Rappleye, M.D., Director. Another angle of medical practice, "The Economic Factors Affecting the Organization of Medicine", is being studied by a committee of five: Winford Smith, M.D., Chairman; Michael M. Davis; Walton H. Hamilton; C.-E. A. Winslow; Lewellys F. Barker, M.D.; H. H. Moore, Secretary.

on the clinical side has largely been dominated by surgery and without regard to the actual needs of the situation. Other allotments of time have likewise frequently been dependent upon faculty and local medical politics and influence rather than upon objective consideration of what students should be trained for.

An analysis of the practice of medicine would probably show that the average practicing physician has presented to him more problems in pediatrics than in orthopedics; more gastric conditions than tropical diseases; more obstetrical conditions than mental diseases. In planning courses these things should be taken into consideration and, so far as these quite obvious examples are concerned, they are to some extent. In our own field we are just as indifferent to these considerations—the needs of the average practicing physician—and probably with less excuse, for we have not been without knowledge of the problems met by the physician in practice. There is no question but that the physician must deal more frequently with neuroses than with psychoses or organic neurological conditions and yet, in courses in psychiatry and neurology, almost the entire emphasis is upon psychoses and organic neurological conditions, while the neuroses are given relatively scant attention.

Formal psychiatry should take its proper relative place in a schedule that could be worked out on the basis of an adequate job analysis. Such an analysis would probably place formal psychiatry as a specialty.

But this does not conclude the matter. Certain psychiatric material is basic to all medical teaching. We largely deceive ourselves as to the adequacy of modern medicine in meeting the health needs of the community. We are not as successful as we permit ourselves to believe. We have been blinded by certain brilliant achievements. Achievements in the field of surgery, the control of infectious diseases, the treatment of diabetes and syphilis have been brilliant. But these cannot stand for medicine as a whole. The practice of medicine, it is probably safe to say, is not meeting successfully the majority of health needs—and this is not because medicine could not meet these needs more adequately, but because physicians are not prepared in the medical schools to deal efficiently with the

health problems that will be presented to them. Meanwhile, they wait in their offices for some one to come along who will present a condition they have been taught to understand. One is willing to take the risk in saying that the majority of people incapacitated at any given time are not incapacitated as the result of physical illness, as that term is generally conceived.

Recently three young physicians have come to me to discuss problems of practice. Each is a graduate of one of the leading medical schools of the country, is practicing in a large Eastern city, and has been in practice some seven or eight years. Each said essentially the same thing: "Eighty per cent of my practice consists of neuroses and most of the rest of it of common colds. I can do a little for the colds, but what am I to do with the neuroses?" "And what do you do?" "I give each patient as good a physical examination as I know how. When I am convinced that there is no physical basis for their complaints, I do various things. Some I try to reassure, some to persuade, some I scold and treat brusquely, or I fiddle with their diets or their hours of sleep and recreation and urge them not to worry." "And the result?" "They stay with me for a while; some seem to get a little better, but usually not for long and never get well; some get no better; and most of them sooner or later I cease to hear from."

The situation in the practice of these three men may not be representative and yet it is probably not far from representative. Each is a competent physician, trained in a medical school, considered by many an almost ideal school. Each is competent to do many things he is never or seldom called upon to do; but he is not competent to do the very things he is daily asked to do—and for which he is paid an excellent fee. It might be added that each of these men had also a conscience. Each admitted that he knew nothing about neuroses, but that he had to pretend to; that he took money for what was little more than medical fakery and that he did not feel comfortable in the situation at all. Each, of course, wished me to tell him in the course of half an hour just what to do with his neuroses—as one might give a less experienced colleague a favorite prescription for coryza—showing as well as could be how completely lacking in any understanding of the neuroses they were.

Referring their patients to others who did understand the problem involved was suggested, but this was not acceptable because (1) there was no one available in whom they had sufficient confidence; (2) because if they did they would cease to make a living. The obvious suggestion was then made: "If neuroses form such a large part of your practice, then why not learn something about the neuroses?" This is exactly what they wanted to do and why they had come to me—to have me explain to them in a few minutes all about the neuroses and to tell them how to "read up" on the subject.

When a minimum plan of training was outlined for them, however, whereby they could become reasonably adequate in the treatment of neuroses and thereby make an honest living, they objected. Each admitted that if he planned to enter upon a surgical practice, he would not think of doing so without first devoting a period of time to further training in surgery, but in entering upon a psychiatric practice, he could not see the necessity, for after all nothing was wrong with these patients (*sic!*). Each then became defensive and began to blame the patient. Each tended to assert that after all he was a competent physician, well trained by the best medical school in the country, and if the right patients did not come along, then somehow it was their fault and not his.

One sees these discrepancies between training and practice elsewhere. Neurologists will frequently admit that as much as 70 per cent of their private practice consists of functional neuroses—yet it is probably not far wrong to say that in their training 90 per cent of their time was given to the study of organic neurological conditions and 10 per cent to an understanding of the neuroses. The discrepancy shows in the results—to the physician's gain, the public's loss. Psychiatrists sometimes find it difficult to understand why they are not considered competent for work in child-guidance and other extramural clinics. But the reason would seem obvious. Why should a man 100 per cent of whose psychiatric training, or at least 99 per cent of it, has been in frank mental disease of adults be considered competent in a field where 99 per cent of the problems will be behavior disorders and developmental emotional problems of children, and 1 per cent or less problems of frank mental disease?

The medical profession must take to itself considerable responsibility for the growth of ill will against it and the development of fraud. Right is far from being entirely on the side of medicine. Much complaint is ignorant and unfair, to be sure, but too much is just. Men and women who go confidently to a physician with their illness only to find, after the expenditure frequently of considerable sums, not only that the physician has not understood their condition and that they are no better, but that his interest in them and cheery manner have been simulated to cover annoyance and disgust (not of himself, but of them), do not often become bitter and antagonistic at once. They are surprisingly fair, if not naïve. There are physicians and physicians. The profession is sound; they were unfortunate in having selected a poor one. They go to another, and another, and another. Their confidence is pathetic and should cover medical men with humiliation. It is only after they have been deceived for years that eventually they become embittered and charge the medical profession—as they have a right to do from their experience—with being composed of mercenary ignoramuses, if not fakers. In their helplessness and need, they turn to individuals who are indeed professional fakers, but not altogether fakers so far as the special condition of these particular patients is concerned—and they frequently find considerable relief from their difficulties. Quackery feeds largely, of course, upon the ignorant and gullible, and only time can do away with this, as accurate information in regard to health and disease becomes more generally circulated (for years the medical profession disapproved of the dissemination of such information and a considerable number still disapprove—digging a pit for themselves and fertilizing the ground for the quack); but the most important contribution to the quack—because more often than not he is intelligent, if not medically informed—is made by the medical profession through attempting to treat patients the nature of whose illness they have never been taught to understand. Indeed they cannot free themselves from their own neuroticisms as they free themselves from other illnesses; but here again it is the patient who pays more abundantly, as the physician gets his own symptoms and reactions inextricably mixed with those of the patient.

It is not difficult to understand why this situation exists. Although the number of individuals who suffer from neuroses or who magnify or prolong the duration of physical illnesses through neurotic reactions is larger than those actually suffering from physical illness, the medical profession has been little interested. Medical science and medical art are not separate from, but are an integral part of, general culture. Since men have been men they have been preoccupied with death, and the chief function of the physician has been—since before he was a physician, in the modern sense, but was a barber or medicine man—and still is, to rescue men from death. Those illnesses that kill have interested all men most and likewise the physician. Neuroses do not kill. The interest of the physician has been and is merely expressive of the general cultural level.

With an increase in knowledge and a wider dissemination of knowledge, there is taking place a, perhaps slight, but nevertheless perceptible change in cultural level and this, too, is reflected in the field of medicine. Spirits, hell, damnation, death do not hold for intelligent men and women the fear they once did. The view that life need not be a "vale of tears", but quite worth the living for itself alone—an ancient, but distinctly minority view—has gradually been replacing the earlier more fearful view, and its effect upon the general cultural level becomes noticeable as it becomes more nearly a majority view. Though no longer feared, premature death will never be welcomed by emotionally healthy people, but death may yet come to be welcomed as a reward and fulfillment of an active life. The art of living, therefore, becomes a center of interest rather than the art of defeating death.

This change in cultural level is just beginning to be reflected in medicine. The growth of interest in preventive medicine is a part of this, although it belongs rather to the older than the newer philosophy. The object of preventive medicine is not so much that people may live as that they may not die. Interest is not in life as such, but in an earlier defeat of death. How people may live, whether in fact there is anything gained either for the individual saved from death or for others, is no concern—and should not be if through a single-minded pur-

pose it is to work out its full possibilities—of preventive medicine. It is enough that individuals do not die.

More noteworthy is the interest, more recently making itself felt, in health for its own sake, the effort being directed to the realization of the full development of the potential of the individual; and this not so much to defeat death as to enhance life. Medical investigation and instruction are still preponderately directed at death and will long remain so, probably always should remain so, but an increasing interest in investigation of and instruction in the possibilities inherent in physical, nervous, and mental structures for living is to be expected, as the science and art of medicine continue to reflect cultural growth.

All this, I feel, has a bearing upon the subject we are discussing, the relation of psychiatry to the teaching of medicine, as shown through a possible job analysis. We can make safely the following observations:

The average general practitioner has presented to him more problems of internal medicine than of mental disease (psychoses).

But every cardiac case is not a gastric case; after a preliminary examination, the stomach can largely be ignored.

Every gastric case does not have a cardiac involvement; the heart can be ignored.

However, in every cardiac case there is an emotional reaction to the situation—sometimes more, sometimes less; the stomach may be ignored, but the emotional situation cannot be.

In every gastric case there is an emotional reaction to the situation—sometimes more, sometimes less; the heart may be ignored, but the emotional reaction cannot be.

Our clue as to what is basic, therefore, lies here. The extreme behavior of all psychotic patients is not basic; the behavior reaction of the patient free of a psychosis, but ill of a physical disease is basic. Knowledge of the different types of paraphrenia or of dementia praecox is of little importance to the general practitioner. It makes little difference whether he can differentiate between dementia praecox and manic-depressive insanity; it makes considerable difference whether he has some knowledge of temper tantrums, anxieties, fears,

and the common emotional reactions to be found in every patient who comes to him. It is this material from the field of psychiatry that is important to the general practitioner.

But how is this to be taught? We have gained knowledge in this field by studying partial and special reactions as exhibited by those seriously ill of mental disease. The less complicated situation in which these reactions are found has made easier the gaining of knowledge. Considerable knowledge has been gained and it is now possible to reconstruct with a fair degree of accuracy the development of the emotional life, personality, and character of the individual, and to point out the types of experiences that may inhibit or distort that development. In the teaching of psychiatry at the present time the same course is pursued as has been followed in the obtaining of knowledge. I believe that the method should be reversed.

The medical student will profit more if, instead of beginning instruction with the psychoses or with a demonstration of pathological reactions exhibited by patients with psychoses, instruction is begun with the simple emotional reactions and the development of the emotional life reconstructed for the student. There should probably be a step preliminary even to such instruction. It is man who is to be discussed—man as he actually exists, not a phantom man. This man is a reality to all too few and it is not to be assumed that he is a reality to the medical student. The medical student is likely to be more objective than many of his university fellows, but his objectivity will frequently be found well departmentalized or compartmented. A tube of urine is a tube of urine. He does not sentimentalize about hearts, lungs, livers, muscles, or nerve tissue. These are real to him.

But the individual as an individual, man as a man, is not so real. His man is a non-existent, unreal man built up of odd bits of religious, ethical, and moral dicta and held together by his own personal emotional reactions to experiences with men. It is thus a fictitious man, who may have little relation to man as he actually exists, that he brings to the classroom to study. This matters little in most of his courses in the medical school, but it matters a good deal when it comes to the subject of psychiatry, which will deal with the

behavior of man; not alone the behavior of an organ, but of the man as a whole; and, again, not alone the total man as an isolated physical unit, but man in an environment, man in his social relationships, and therefore man in his moral, ethical, and, perhaps, religious relationships. These relationships can be depicted to little purpose except as regards man as he has been and is. This man must be built up for the medical student as well as for any other student, and a preliminary course in psychiatry may well begin, it seems to me, in a cogent review of material from anthropology, biology, physiology, comparative anatomy, and other basic sciences until the student has before him the precise man who is now to develop an intellectual and emotional life, establish social relationships, and build codes of morals, ethics, and religion.

In this course the development of the emotional life should be stressed, although the interrelation of physical and intellectual factors should be kept constantly in mind—the development of emotional reactions, types of response, conditioning of these responses by the family environment (part played by father, mother, older and younger children), the development and use of such mental mechanisms as identification, projection, introjection, punishment, compensation, and the like; the use of these by the child, the further use and elaboration by the adolescent, the still further use and elaboration by the adult. From this can be reconstructed the various behavior types, working again from the simple to the complex and with consideration of the interplay of physical, intellectual, social, and economic factors. Emphasis should be upon the more, so-called, “normal” types and the relation of these to social situations, social concepts, laws, morals, ethics, to medicine itself, and to the students themselves. With further elaboration, the field of the neuroses and functional psychoses can be entered, although little more than an orientation should be attempted. The material up to this point is material that every physician must deal with daily; beyond this point the material becomes special.

By means of such a course the student may gain some understanding of himself—which he needs as much as he needs understanding of his patient. In fact, the one is not completely possible without the other. He may come to under-

stand, as he has never done, his own emotional reactions, his own response to his patient, and his patient's response to him. He may gain understanding of the emotional factors in the life of his patient that defeat his best efforts, or that accentuate or prolong the illness. He may even learn how to cure a gastric condition or give advice about a cardiac condition without causing greater and more permanent damage than has already been done by the condition itself. A course of this kind should make it possible for the physician to deal more adequately with the behavior problems of children that are more and more frequently being brought to him. It should make for a better understanding of the work of the psychiatrist in the hospital and the community and lead to a more sympathetic and intelligent coöperation with him. It should serve as a foundation for a more elaborate study of the neuroses and psychoses in the clinical years, continued in the postgraduate years if desired.

A course of this kind, it seems to me, is basic to all medical training and should be given in the first or second year of the medical course.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTION OF MENTAL DISEASE *

EDWARD A. STRECKER, M.D.

Professor of Nervous and Mental Diseases, Jefferson Medical College

THE history of psychiatry is an epitome of the history of the development of human thought. Apparently the mind of man is so constituted that it is impelled to seek some explanation of the objective phenomena that it witnesses. No doubt, in the dim, dark ages before the dawn of history, the signs of madness were noted with wonder and awe, and no doubt, too, they were ascribed to weird and mysterious agencies, the gods and devils of those remote days. From the earliest historical records, it would seem that insanity was first referred to possession of the body by demons and evil spirits and more rarely to the favor of the gods. Until comparatively recent times, the only notable interruption of this primitive point of view was the rational belief of the great Hippocrates, who lived 460-370 B.C. and who taught that "the brain is the organ of the mind"—a terse statement which summarizes the conception upon which the physiological viewpoint is grounded.

Naturally, the idea of demonological possession easily opened the way for flagrant abuses in the treatment of the insane. They were chained, tortured, burned, and beaten, all in an effort to drive out the demons. This state of affairs existed even during the nineteenth century, but in this connection it must be remembered that it is only within the past few decades that the grossest aspects of man's inhumanity to man have been corrected. For instance, in England at Tyburn on February 2, 1785, five men were hanged—one for robbing a man of two glass drops set in metal, value threepence, and the other four for thefts, respectively, of a one-inch rule, value twopence; two papers of nails, value one penny; one

* Presidential Address, Philadelphia Psychiatric Society, January 13, 1928.

knife, value one penny; and coin amounting to two shillings and a counterfeit halfpenny.

Psychiatry began to emerge from its dark ages largely through the efforts of Pinel (1745-1826), Tuke, and others. These great humanitarians established, or at least gave currency to, the belief that those who are insane are sick, that any other conception is indefensible, and thus cleared the path for intensive inquiry into the real nature and causation of mental disease. Naturally, there continued to flourish and there still continue to exist those who, either because they are ignorant, misguided, or fanatical or because they are charlatans, ascribe mental disease to mystic or supernatural agencies or influences, and in the attempt to substantiate their claims, utilize various devices which deceive the credulous (magnetism and so forth). In the main, however, investigations of insanity have been scientific and have proceeded along more or less logical physiological and psychological lines. The psychological school has had and has many eminent adherents (Charcot, Babinski, Janet, Bernheim, Dubois, Dejerine, Freud, Bleuler, Jung, Adler, and so forth) who have made noteworthy and sometimes epochal contributions. The physiological school was and is represented by a distinguished array of scientists and from this source, too, the science of psychiatry has been deeply enriched. As has been stated, the physiological theory holds that the brain is the organ of the mind and adheres to the logical conclusion to be drawn from this premise—that the final explanation of mental symptoms will be read in terms of brain pathology.

— On the other hand, the psychological conception of mental disease takes little or no account of any possible relationship between mental processes or symptoms and changes in the brain. It admits at once that there are such relationships in the so-called organic psychoses, as, for instance, in paresis, in arteriosclerotic dementia, or in idiocy, but it scouts the idea of the existence of similar or indeed of any brain or structural alterations in many psychoses, such as manic-depressive psychosis or dementia praecox, and particularly in the neuroses. In effect, the psychological conception denies that the brain is the organ of the mind. Therefore, the psychological approach to the problem of insanity is radically differ-

ent from the approach that is the logical outgrowth of the physiological conception. In the latter instance, methods of anatomy, neuropathology, chemistry, and the like are stressed and utilized, and it is hoped that eventually constant organic factors will be uncovered, which will solve the riddle of mental disease. The psychological school maintains that all these efforts are foredoomed to failure and will remain sterile of any real result. It is necessary, this school insists, to study abnormal mental phenomena without reference to the brain, but simply as observable phenomena of consciousness which may not only be identified, but also classified and eventually understood, as mental operations that follow a fixed law. In a few words, this is the basic difference between the physiological and the psychological hypotheses.

Before one can follow the psychological theory, one must be prepared to grant at least one premise. This premise states that our mental processes—for instance, the content of consciousness at any given instant—are never matters of chance, but are conditioned by the operation of scientific laws. A thought—even a thought that may be designated as a random thought—is not really random or casual at all, *but is the only thought that could have appeared at that particular time.* Ask some one to mention offhand a flower, and according to the psychological school, the naming of the flower is *not* a haphazard affair. It is not mere chance that leads one to say “rose” instead of “lily” or “daisy”, but the working of a scientific law. In brief, the uttering of the word “rose” was predetermined by antecedent psychological events and, therefore, *was the effect of a definite cause.*

A necessary corollary to this premise, which Bernard Hart so aptly designates “psychological determinism”, is the obvious assumption that, if so-called normal conscious processes follow immutable laws, then abnormal mental phenomena or symptoms are subject to the same laws.

Before proceeding with the explanation, let me reiterate so that it may be clearly understood that such conditions as mental defect or dementia associated with organic disease of the brain are not included in this discussion. It is true that here and there attempts have been made to include them, but the field is already sufficiently large without considering, for

instance, such a situation as paresis, in which disease the spirochete has been demonstrated in the brain. It may be freely granted that the destruction of brain tissue does not of necessity condition the particular type of mental symptoms that may develop, but, nevertheless, it and the syphilis upon which this destruction depends is a constant factor and therefore constitutes a satisfactory and scientific explanation of paralytic dementia.

With this introduction, we may proceed to examine the phenomena exhibited by both the normal and the so-called abnormal mind and to discover if possible whether the differences that exist are differences *in degree*, or whether the two are really actually dissimilar—that is, whether they differ *in kind*. Our examination cannot be too exhaustive because the subject is too broad, but at least some brief consideration is permissible here.

For the average man, the distinction between sanity and insanity seems obvious and enormous. This impression is strengthened and confirmed for him, rather than weakened or disproven, by a visit to an asylum. Here he may meet, especially on the chronic wards, a “Christ”, or a “Napoleon Bonaparte”, or a “Cræsus” who may casually present him with a cheque for \$1,000,000, or he may hear the moans of some poor wretch who believes that he is to be cruelly tortured and burned in hell forever, or he may be forced to listen to the complaints of an individual who tells strange tales of the machinations and plots of an imaginary ring of persecutors. All this seems so strange and inexplicable and bizarre that the visitor comes away with a positive conviction that the gulf between mental normality and abnormality is very wide and deep and that nothing in his own mind bears the slightest resemblance to what he has seen and heard. If he were asked to give an explanation of insanity, he would be completely at a loss. At best he might conclude that “to define true madness, what is’t but to be nothing else but mad?” But is this really all that is to be said on the subject?

The average individual would strongly resent the declaration or even the implication that only rarely is he capable of logical thinking. Logical thinking may be construed as thinking that is mature and deliberate, about a subject con-

cerning which the person is reasonably well informed; that is based upon premises which are clear and inclusive so that the deductions can be logical; and—most important of all—that is not tinctured by *emotional bias* or *prejudice*. After all, how much of this kind of thinking is there? How often do we think *emotionally* instead of *intellectually* and *logically*? How often are our opinions influenced by extraneous emotional factors entirely foreign to the subject? Strong impressions emotionally determined in early childhood, the emotional impress of the personality of a beloved one or an admired friend, or even the atmosphere of our club or social set or the opinion of our favorite newspaper or magazine, are all tremendous emotional factors that influence our thinking. Furthermore, it is somewhat noteworthy that the less one knows about a subject, the more positive one is apt to be in one's opinions, providing the topic is one that arouses some emotional association. But it may be objected that in normal people these emotional opinions and beliefs are subject to change by logical argument and proof. Are they? How much likelihood is there of changing by argument or scientific proof the emotional convictions of the amateur politician, the religious fanatic, the anti-vivisectionist, or, in short, of altering by pure logic the countless pet beliefs of the great bulk of mankind, whatever be the social or intellectual status? Are they not almost as impervious to cold logic and intellectual reasoning about these beliefs as is the "Napoleon" of the asylum or the insane victim of a delusion of persecution?

An important, perhaps the most important, phenomenon of a large group of psychoses (manic-depressive) is the amount and character of the emotional reaction. In one phase of this disease, the emotional life seems to be overemphasized and marked by mercurial oscillations (manic); in the other, the affective tone is profoundly depressed (melancholia). A single moment of self-analysis will make it obvious to any average man or woman that their own so-called normal lives are filled with emotional oscillations, although the degree may be relatively slight. But, it will be objected, the "ups and downs" of normal life have adequate causes and are *proportionate to these causes*. This is probably true, but true not only in sanity, but likewise in insanity. But are these causes

clearly recognized by the individual? The patient suffering from melancholia who, when questioned, states that she is so miserable and unhappy because "years ago, when she was a child, she stole an apple from the corner grocer and now for punishment she must burn forever in hell fire" is, of course, simply unaware of the real psychological mechanism of the depression. The normal, sane man who bursts into a tirade of passion at some trivial error of his stenographer's, delay in completing a telephone connection, a bad golf shot, or the noisy behavior of one of his children, is somewhat similar to the mental patient, in that he is having an emotional reaction out of all proportion to the trivial incident which he assigns as the cause, and, furthermore, he, too, is unaware or at best only faintly aware of the *real motivation of his storm of anger*.

We can sum up the psychology of one psychosis, which happens to be statistically the most important (dementia praecox), in the statement that the patient retires mentally from the world of reality and constructs a fanciful world of unreality, which is seemingly quite satisfactory for his mental needs. What is this fantasy formation other than daydreaming carried out to an extreme, but consistent degree? Now daydreaming is an everyday phenomenon of normal mental life; it is very usual during adolescence and never wholly disappears even during maturity. Traces of daydreaming may be found even in the hard-headed man of business. What is its objective? It is simply a compensation for the hard facts of reality, a temporary indulgence in pleasing and comforting phantasy, which so easily supplies all those things that everyday existence often denies. The daydreaming of normals is a transient affair and is readily displaced by practical considerations; the daydreaming of the schizophrenic is complete, cannot be terminated, and makes up the sum total of his mental life.

Such instances of parallelism between normal and abnormal mental states might be multiplied indefinitely if space were available. If we are able to accept the psychological conception up to this point, we will come to believe that mental disease differs from sanity in degree, but not in kind. We might then be willing to agree that if the observer could see

the whole chain of events that led to the formation of a delusion or any other mental symptom, it would become much more understandable and would at least approximate the phenomena of normal or average mental life. A psychiatrist of long and fruitful experience once remarked that the chief difference between the normal man and the one who was mentally sick was that the latter was inside the walls of a hospital and the former was not. He meant to imply that insanity induced antisocial conduct and, therefore, required restraint, attention, and treatment.

Perhaps it may be granted that mental processes, not only in health, but also in disease, of the mind, are governed by psychological laws. Any consideration of the nature of these laws will take us into very debatable territory; therefore, the discussion is continued only with the strict reservation that it is largely hypothetical. Furthermore, it must be brief, little more than a summary. I suggest that the student pursue the subject further in the excellent expositions by Bernard Hart and others.¹

Perhaps a consideration of the *complex* will be a satisfactory point of departure. *A complex may be thought of as a constellation of related ideas, vivified by a strong emotional tone and more or less striving to express itself in the stream of consciousness.* Complexes are not to be regarded as distinctly abnormal phenomena since they are a component of every individual's mental life, and we may witness typical examples in the man with a so-called hobby—the coin or stamp collector, the golf enthusiast, the baseball fan, and the like. Complexes are readily stimulated into activity and find and make associations with the greatest ease. They are so keen to produce action in consciousness, as it were, that they find associations in material that at first glance seems foreign and unrelated. Because of their deep emotional coloring or bias, they cannot produce what might be called intellectual or logical thinking; the individual is prejudiced in their favor and in favor of anything that might further them, and is scarcely able to receive and weigh arguments that oppose

¹ See section, *Scope of Personal Mental Hygiene*, in *Mental Hygiene*, by Edward A. Strecker, M.D. Vol. 7, Chapter 12, of *Nelson's Loose-leaf Living Medicine*. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons.

their continuance. The man who has a complex—and we all have them—may recognize the fact (though he would probably designate it as a healthy interest), but often one is unaware of the existence of the complex and then one is perhaps particularly impervious to arguments or persuasions that threaten the continuous life and activity of the complex. For instance, when, let us say, the anti-vivisectionist is faced with arguments as to the great utility of the measures derived from animal experimentation, like the antitoxin of diphtheria, he will answer in detail with elaborate counter-arguments which he regards as highly logical. It is fairly clear, however, that his remarks are emotionally conditioned and directed. He is not logical at all, and in fact his anti-vivisection complex has determined a “closed mind” about this particular subject. All of us, seemingly, have a strong need for maintaining the fiction of what we call “reasoning”, but as a matter of fact often we do not reason at all, but simply deceive ourselves in this respect. This self-deception may be termed *rationalization*. It is exceedingly common in everyday life.

To resume, briefly, a complex may be *directly expressed*—and this is the case when the person is largely aware of his complex, as is the golf enthusiast or the baseball fan—or it may be *indirectly expressed* in consciousness, when the individual is unaware of its existence, as in the instance, let us say, of the woman who in early life was disappointed and grossly deceived in a love affair. In such a situation, the bitter experience may have been more or less successfully repressed and the complex engendered may “come out” as various propaganda activities, which assail the position that the male of the species is said to have assumed as the “lord of creation”. Not always, but sometimes such and similar propaganda activities have their origin in a complex which is striving to appear in consciousness and which has been subjected to a process of repression with consequent self-deception or rationalization. The psychological conception assumes that much of the behavior of those who are mentally sick, many of their delusions and other phenomena, may be traced to understandable chains of psychological events. For instance, the patient with delusions concerning great physical

strength and perfection of physique may be expressing and compensating for a lifelong and degrading feeling of inferiority, based on physical weakness and imperfections which he has not been able consciously to face and accept.

Psychologically speaking, a complex will not cause trouble unless it tends to produce action that is in opposition, and perhaps repugnant to, the rest of the personality. If it does prompt action that is so opposed or repugnant, then a *conflict* must arise. To illustrate, a married woman falls in love. Unfortunately, however, she is already married and is, let us say, the mother of children who need her care and protection. Mentally, a conflict must ensue between the desire to run off with her lover and the demands of the rest of her personality, which insists on a recognition of what might be called the ethics of the situation—*i.e.*, her duty to her children and her husband, the requirements and expectations of society and civilization, and many other considerations. There is a clash or conflict which leads to an impasse and which demands a solution. What are the possibilities? The situation may be honestly and openly faced out, weighed, and considered until a decision is reached—the decision, perhaps, to remain with husband and children and the determination to follow what might be called the dictates of duty. But this does not always take place; often the mind seeks to avoid the conflict. Various expedients are available. One expedient which is tremendously important psychologically operates by preventing the clashing tendencies or opposed elements of the conflict from coming into contact with each other. It is not an ideal solution, but it preserves mental peace and avoids the disagreeable conflict with its consequent emotional strain.

This method is called *dissociation* and is a common phenomenon, both in normal and abnormal psychology. In effect, *dissociation is the separation of the mind or consciousness by a splitting-off of one (sometimes more) component or system of ideas, the personality or remainder of the mind being unable to exert any control over the split-off portion.* This phenomenon of dissociation may be witnessed in the automatic writing of hysteria, in somnambulism, in double personality, and in the many delusions of mental patients—for instance, in the patient who can consistently believe that

he is Jesus Christ and maintain this belief in spite of every argument directed against it or the obvious gross incongruities of his daily life. Likewise, numerous examples of what amounts to dissociation may be found in our everyday life, and in a somewhat similar manner we preserve our pet hobbies, beliefs, and prejudices from contact with anything that might destroy or weaken them. Often they have arisen in our childhood and some of them we are apt to carry with us even to the grave, in spite of the fact that innumerable experiences—not only those of others, but our own experiences—are directly opposed to their validity and their logical right to continued existence.

If, as has been indicated and as is often the case, it is not possible to attain complete isolation or dissociation of the complex from the opposition and contradiction of the remainder of the personality and the facts of the environment, the phenomenon of *rationalization* may be employed. A few examples must suffice. A man who has a reputation for probity and morality, who is unimpeachable in practically all the relations of his life, morally solvent and not really a hypocrite, habitually defrauds the government of a portion of the income tax which the law demands. His answer to an indictment would be that the tax is unreasonable, that the government wastes the money, and so forth. Strange as it may seem, often he believes that he is right and logical. He is merely rationalizing his conduct. The attitude of thousands toward the Volstead act is as typical an example of rationalizing as one could wish to find. Likewise, in the sphere of abnormal psychology, when we attempt to point out to the patient who believes that he is the "second Christ" that this cannot be so—that his life is not at all Christlike; that he is in an asylum, has been for years, and makes no attempt to leave; that his so-called "miracles" are obviously silly; that not a single one of his prophecies has come to pass; and so on—he merely smiles in a superior fashion or perhaps explains in detail that all these apparent contradictions and failures are merely divine methods of testing the faith of the skeptic. Again, he is rationalizing.

So are there many psychological methods that are utilized, chiefly in the effort to prevent complexes that are at war with

the personality of the individual and with society from reaching the surface in their original form. Since, however, complexes demand expression in consciousness, mechanisms are employed to disguise them effectively so that they will appear in a guise not offensive to the personality.

There is a psychological phenomenon termed *repression*. In a few words, it may be defined as *the more or less deliberate forgetting of a painful, unpleasant, or shameful experience*. There is some reason to think that in some degree this happens in the lives of many men. A common example cited by psychopathologists concerns the observation that frequently there is little or no conscious recollection of the sex experiences and practices of early childhood. It must be made clear that according to this school of psychopathologists, repression is not at all synonymous with forgetting and it is stated emphatically that forgetting in the sense of destruction or wiping-out or annihilation of a memory, so that it disappears and leaves no trace, is an impossible conception and cannot occur any more in psychology than can the annihilation of matter in physics. Repression does not denote non-existence, and the complex continues to find expression in consciousness by various indirect and devious routes. The route is devious and indirect because of the *resistance* interposed against the complex by the remainder of the personality and by what might be called the expectations and requirements of civilization and society.

In abnormal psychology, particularly in the neuroses, as well as in everyday mental life, we may find numerous illustrations of repression and of the devices employed so that the complex may live and express itself in the stream of conscious life and behavior. It is asserted by many psychopathologists that great activity in certain directions, perhaps in propaganda for public morality, may be the expression of denied and repressed sex life; that an exaggeration of personal cleanliness may indicate the repression of unpleasant memories of earlier indecencies; that even the very choice of an occupation may be determined by the repressed complex and its demand for an outlet in consciousness. One is reminded of the old adage "murder will out".

It will be noted that in these instances repressed complexes

overcome or escape resistance and manifest themselves as contradictions or, in other words, as qualities opposite to the basic nature of the complex. Thus it has been said that the uncompromising propagandist for public morality and the merciless prosecutor of the prostitute has been led into this conscious attitude by the drive of repressed sex desires of an illicit nature. In the realm of the abnormal, the apparent euphoria and happy overactivity of acute mania may be the expression of an actually hopeless situation in real life. So, too, the obsessions of the psychasthenic may be the end link of a psychological chain whose beginning is a complex unacceptable to the personality. The endless washing of hands sometimes seen in both neurotic and psychotic patients has been interpreted as traceable to a complex of masturbation or other more or less abnormal sex experiences.

Speaking from a personal point of view, some of these interpretations, especially those cited as referring to normal mental life and its activities, seem rather forced and extreme. It is extremely unfortunate that the conceptions of the so-called new school of psychopathology were either presented in too arbitrary a manner or else received with too little discrimination (probably both), so that sharp antagonism and bitterness have arisen, with the result that the sincere opponents of this school lose valuable psychological concepts, while its adherents have deprived themselves of much needed constructive criticism.

There are many other ways in which the complex may elude resistance and appear in consciousness. All of them cannot be detailed here. *Symbolism* should be mentioned. Symbolism is as old as the human race. Language is based on symbols. The play of children is replete with symbols. A child places itself astride a stick and the stick is accepted by the other children as a prancing horse. A little girl drapes a bit of cloth about her body and adult womanhood is symbolized. Later on in life symbolism is commonly accepted. Many of the practices of religion are highly symbolic. In business, a check is a symbol for money. The lover begs a handkerchief from his mistress "as a reminder". And so on. In insanity, especially in the psychosis, dementia praecox, we see curious mannerisms of speech, gesture, and gait that are probably

remnants of former elaborate delusional complexes. I have been interested in the so-called late catatonic phenomena of the involutional and pre-senile psychoses. When these psychoses progress unfavorably, curious automatic or stereotyped movements or speech may be observed and heard, and they are probably the odds and ends of former complex emotional reactions, which have degenerated or lost much of their emotional value and are now symbolized by a single motion or one word endlessly repeated.

A repressed complex may be manifested by *projection*—that is, the personality or remainder of the mind, being utterly unable to face or accept it, simply regards it as belonging to another. Is it not more or less true that we are especially severe in our judgments of our own faults when they appear in others? Sometimes a man who manages to “break into” an exclusive club or society for which he is not wholly qualified becomes particularly critical and rigorous in the scrutiny of other candidates for membership. It is notable that it is the reckless or incompetent motorist who on the road unmercifully berates more conservative and competent drivers for trivial mistakes of which he himself is often guilty.

There is some reason to believe that projection is a potent mechanism in mental disease. Certainly, some instances of delusions of persecution—in which the “voices” (hallucinations) deride the patient and accuse him of homosexual practices, or people on the street “smile in a knowing fashion” or “lift their eyebrows” (ideas of reference), thus indicating that he is a pervert—seemingly are examples of a homosexual tendency that is manifesting itself in the field of consciousness. The case of a young woman recently widowed is sometimes cited as an apt illustration of projection. “The neighbors”, so the patient complained, indicated in various ways (ideas of reference), and finally whispered so that she could hear (hallucinations), that she always managed to be on the porch, dressed in her best, when the men passed on their way home from work, and that she openly attracted their attention, and so on. Subsequent developments make it likely that the phenomenon of projection was utilized to escape the

recognition in consciousness of the urge of a strong sexual desire.

Finally, a word should be said concerning *introjection*. It is the opposite of projection. By virtue of this psychological mechanism, the patient simply identifies in himself the admired and desired qualities of others. It is probable that introjection explains a large portion of phantasy formation and it may account for many of the "kings" and "emperors" and "prophets" who reside in mental hospitals.

In this connection one may recall the fable of the fly on the axle of the thundering chariot, who remarked: "Lo, what a dust I raise!"

Introjection is not an uncommon phenomenon in everyday life. Probably, when we are tremendously interested and perhaps held spellbound by a particular play or book, it is because for the moment we are merging ourselves into and identifying in ourselves one of the characters depicted on the stage or on the printed page. In the daydreaming of adolescence, especially in the "puppy love" stage, the boy may identify in himself some chivalrous knight, a great aviator ace, an All-American football player, or the like.

SUMMARY

There are many other phenomena that have an influence both in normal and abnormal mental life, but the essential ones have been mentioned. It may be profitable to restate briefly the subject matter of this theme. The psychological conception of mental disease begins by advancing the hypothesis that the mind operates according to certain laws which are as fixed as the laws of physics. From this basic element of the theory, it follows that these laws operate alike for the mind that is sick (abnormal) and for the mind that is sound (normal).

It is not too difficult to concede that as an hypothesis this is reasonable, understandable, and probably correct. When, however, we come to try to state the laws that govern the actions of the mind, we are at once beset with great difficulty. We are here concerned largely with attempts to formulate scientific explanations that will account for the methods by

which repressed complexes insure for themselves an appearance in consciousness, determine behavior in normal individuals, and in those who are mentally sick condition symptoms and types. At best we can say that psychopathology has succeeded in interpreting in constant psychological terms some of the behavior of normal individuals and a few of the symptoms of those who are abnormal. It is exceedingly likely that extensive modifications will have to be made, old concepts abandoned, and new ones advanced, before anything approaching scientific accuracy is available.

Furthermore, when we try to designate a deeper, more basic and universal factor, we can only surmise. One school insists on the all-prevailing importance of sex as a common denominator in the determination of the direction of the stream of consciousness in normal and abnormal mental life; another emphasizes the primary importance of the herd instinct and believes that insanity is in effect a rebellion against the codes and conventions of society; another traces almost all the manifestations of mental activity, sane or insane, to a sense of inferiority; and so on. It seems advisable to admit that we do not know.

In conclusion, it is doubtful whether we can be absolutely sure that the psychological and the physiological conceptions are in the last analysis absolutely separate entities and opposed to each other. It is not impossible that there may be an interaction and an interrelationship, and that the endocrine apparatus constitutes the connecting link. In any event, we have not come to the time when we can afford to discard either point of view. The physiological, which has been invaluable in the study of psychoses associated with organic disease of the brain and has been expanded to include the chemistry of the body and other considerations, will probably still furnish important correlations and discoveries. The psychological method, on the other hand, opens up new vistas in the field of the mechanisms of the mind in health and disease.

TREATMENT OF THE CHILD THROUGH THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

ELIZABETH H. DEXTER

*Chief Psychiatric Social Worker, Newark (N. J.) Public School Child
Guidance Clinic*

ONE of the most effective points of attack for preventive mental hygiene is the school. No other social agency has contact with such large numbers of children, and this over an extended period of from at least six to eight years, during the time when the child is still in a formative phase and highly susceptible to change. Often the school offers the most intelligent attention and the greatest personal opportunity the socially underprivileged child is ever likely to get. If he can successfully adjust to the authority and competition of the classroom, he acquires the social habits so essential to adjustment in his later economic and social life. The teacher, in dealing twice a year with classes of from thirty-five to forty, is in a position to influence more children than any other individual in the community. By the application of mental-hygiene principles to classroom problems, she can go a long way toward clearing up the emotional difficulties that interfere with social success and that are likely to be increasingly detrimental to good work adjustments in later life, if they are not checked now.

Perhaps the most adequate means of equipping her for this task is furnished by a school child-guidance clinic. Such a clinic may not only give her the understanding necessary for dealing with individual cases, but an appreciation of the general underlying causes of behavior, and with the perspective she gains through this knowledge, she can view misbehavior, not as a manifestation of pure cussedness within the control of the child, but as a blind and painful search for the security which she is in a position at least partially to supply. Aware of the child's needs and the rôle she may play in meeting them, she no longer regards his behavior as

an irritating obstacle to her special aims, but accepts it as part of the problem of giving him an education. This approach not only helps the child to obtain the maximum from his school experience, because his energy is free for developing habits of effort and learning, but it also increases the efficiency of the school; for when the emotional handicaps to school success are removed, there is a definite speeding up of the educational process. Thus, through the coöperation of teachers and other school officials, the school clinic is in an excellent position to carry on an extensive mental-hygiene program that indirectly reaches scores of children.

From the standpoint of both child and school, it is economical to straighten out difficulties at the beginning of a child's school career, because the problems of younger children are easier to clear up than the more fixed behavior of older children and because the school is spared the initial waste of its efforts through failure of the child to live up to his capacity for good work and desirable behavior. It is, therefore, of tactical value for the school clinic largely to devote itself to the problems of the young child.

Typical of these problems of young children, as found by the Newark Public School Child Guidance Clinic, is the case of Max. He is a child of superior intelligence in the kindergarten. His father makes a comfortable living as a grocer. He is extremely fond of the boy, gives him presents frequently, and even after an exhausting day's work, conscientiously plays with him in the evening. The mother lost her first two children in early infancy and has therefore always been oversolicitous about him. She has humored his food fads and yielded to his tantrums. She still dresses him and takes him to and from school. During his first three and a half years, the family lived in the outskirts of the city, where there were no children to play with, so he spent most of his time alone with his mother. The children in the present neighborhood have little to do with him because he is quarrelsome.

As seen in the home, Max's problem is trivial, but its reverberations, when he entered kindergarten, were anything but trivial. On the third day, he had a temper tantrum, stamped on the floor, cried, and declared that he didn't want

to come to school. From then on, he gave constant trouble, kicking or striking the other children on any or no provocation. One of his favorite tricks was to run around the circle, striking each child in turn. He showed a great deal of affection for the teacher, and, when alone with her, was angelic, but he expected her constant assistance, and when she refused and he bungled his work, he became angry, blamed her, and threatened tearfully to fight her.

Upon entering school every child has a threefold adjustment to make: he must learn to accept authority, to accept the competition of the classroom, and to find satisfaction in doing things for himself. Max's previous experiences had so ill prepared him for meeting these problems that for him the new situation was extremely painful. Till now he had lived in a small world of his own wants, where everything was done for him and the protective love of his parents permeated his whole environment. Suddenly, he found himself in the impersonal atmosphere of the schoolroom, and the disparity between the importance of his status in the home and in this strange, new environment overwhelmed him.

We see him turning to the teacher as the natural substitute for his mother and from her demanding as a right the love and attention he has been used to at home. But the situation is radically changed, for his hitherto exclusively private territory is now invaded by thirty-five or forty other children. His security is wholly undermined and he can regard his classmates only as interlopers and try to dispose of them by kicking and scratching.

His initiation into this miniature society is a critical point in his career. If he is forced into submission, he may always harbor an unhappy sense of injury and discrimination. To outgrow his intense jealousy and become capable of accepting his peers without resentment, he must overcome his excessive need of the teacher's attention. Since his demands on her result from his efforts to reestablish with her the love relationship he has had with his mother, that relationship at home must be changed. As he is able to give up the satisfaction of excessive love and in exchange learns the pleasure of doing things for himself and the joy of success in doing them well, he will gradually derive his security from his own accom-

plishments and not be forced to rely so exclusively on personal relationships. He can then enter into a happy relationship with the other children because he will not regard them as threatening his security. At the same time he can accept authority because he need no longer fear it as a loss of love and approval.

Fortunately, in this case the parents were coöperative, and as they ceased indulging him and encouraged him to do things for himself, he made fewer demands on the teacher. Within a few months, he settled down happily to school, wasting less energy in attempts to gain the teacher's attention and expending more on school work, in which he was now excelling. Perhaps Max would have settled down without special treatment. The chances are, however, that if the causes of his difficulty, as found in the family situation, had not been dealt with, he would have proved a poor educational risk; his present symptoms of quarrelsomeness and temper tantrums might have developed—as they have with so many other children—into chronic sullenness and disobedience, and the emotional energy necessary for the maximum use of his fine intelligence might have been increasingly diverted from the main business of learning.

Perhaps Max's school problem was intensified by the fact that he was an only child. Yet this type of behavior is frequently found among children with brothers and sisters. The fundamental mechanism is the same—the struggle for the parent person in competition with a group of peers. If, in the family group, a jealousy situation with the brothers and sisters exists as a result of the parents' overindulgence or discrimination, he will carry over to his teacher and classmates the feelings he shows toward the family and will assume that they feel the same way toward him. Although in the family group each child has the advantage of occupying a position in relation to the parents that is uniquely his own, in school he is forced to share the teacher with a group of contemporaries, all of whom are competing with him on the same identical ground. The first entrance into school confronts him, then, with the problem of surviving in a competitive world, and it is important that he be helped to meet this competition with a maximum of satisfaction to himself and a

minimum of conflict with others. As the child's difficulties commonly spring from the family situation, the social worker can attack in the parents the overindulgence or discrimination that contributes to the child's problem, and the teacher can coöperate by helping him find other satisfactions in the classroom.

Often the child's first awareness of authority comes from the early cuffs and beatings of ignorant parents, and he enters school with the preconceived notion that authority is something to be hated and feared. Children of foreign-born parents, exposed to years of excessive discipline, frequently show this hostility, and it is probable that their unconscious reaction to an oppressive parental authority is a factor that contributes largely to the pre-delinquency that flourishes in schools in foreign-born neighborhoods. In maintaining the discipline expected of her, the teacher is frequently forced into an authoritative rôle that appears to the child merely an extension of the force wielded by his parents and that serves to aggravate his resentment.

When the teacher learns to regard his attitude as a problem calling for as much time and skill on her part as the problem of teaching him to read and write, she can do much to counteract the influence of the home. She has the opportunity of helping him to discover that authority does not mean an attack upon his personal rights and a loss of love and approval, but that it is as desirable for his welfare as for that of the group of which he is a part. Teachers who have accepted this broader interpretation of their rôle find a new stimulus that lifts their job out of a harassing routine, and as they acquire an increasing grasp of the probable causes of classroom problems, they begin to view with curiosity and optimism disturbances that formerly made discipline a bugbear.

The majority of cases at first referred to the Newark Child Guidance Clinic were those of overt misbehavior. It was only as the work progressed that the less obvious cases of unhealthy personality trends were uncovered. The number of these has been surprising, in view of the fact that in many instances the child's difficulty was discovered more or less by accident and its essential seriousness was not appreciated by those

involved until the home investigation was made. For this reason, it is impossible to estimate the prevalence of advanced personality disorders in an ordinary school population. Typical of these more advanced cases is that of Robert.

Robert is thirteen years and four months of age, has average intelligence, and is in the eighth grade. He was referred by his teacher because of his quiet manner and his tendency to daydream. In the interview with the social worker, the mother spoke of her concern over his poor work and her regret that he had no friends, but otherwise she was aware of no difficulty.

The boy's father is a skilled worker, making a comfortable income. He is sociable, enjoying his lodge meetings and an occasional evening of pool. He prefers a younger son who is like him in personality and whose part he invariably takes against Robert.

Because of the father's attitude, the mother defends Robert, but is unaware of her partiality for him. As a girl, she wanted to join an Episcopalian sisterhood, but her mother would not allow it. She found marriage disappointing and discovered her only solace in innumerable church activities. Throughout the interview, she was inclined to resist the visiting teacher's assumption that Robert was unadjusted. When finally pressed as to the boy's recreation, she arose and, after exacting a promise that the social worker would not tell Robert, opened the door into a small adjoining room. In it the boy had constructed a chapel, with two small pews and an altar decorated by a crucifix and candles and an altar cloth he had himself embroidered. Here he spent most of his time alone, conducting church services. He intends to become a minister. His mother believes that she is not responsible for his religious fervor, but at the same time recounts an experience that occurred a few months before his birth, when she vowed to dedicate the child to the church if God would induce her husband to cease scoffing at religion. She considers that her prayer was answered and that the child has naturally turned to the church.

When the social worker pointed out the possibility that her ambition for the boy would not be realized unless he learned to make social contacts, she agreed to urge him to spend more

time playing outdoors with the boys and gave her consent to his joining the harmonica club at school. However, when the visiting teacher suggested that the chapel be dismantled on the pretext of her need for a sewing room, she objected that nothing would be accomplished, for Robert would only reconstruct the chapel in his own room. The harmonica club proved ineffective, for although Robert attended regularly, he took no interest in the other boys and used the harmonica at home to play hymns.

Since numerous attempts at relieving the mother's identification with the boy and the father's rejection of him were unsuccessful, and the child himself remained inaccessible to any discussion of his problem, the social worker turned to the minister and the family physician in the hope of getting some control of the situation. The physician, who had known Robert since birth, was amazed at what was going on in the home. He readily offered his coöperation and agreed to urge outdoor activity for the sake of the boy's health. The minister had wondered at Robert's intense enthusiasm, but was unaware of the lengths to which it had carried him. He exerted his influence to discourage the boy's absorbing interest and undertook to discuss his problem with the mother. He also tried to foster a friendship between his son and Robert.

Five months of treatment, for the most part carried on indirectly through the teacher, minister, and physician, appear to have accomplished little more than a superficial change in the original situation. The parents' attitudes are too firmly fixed, and the boy's behavior is too deeply entrenched, to give way to the healthier family relationships that are necessary to free the boy from his emotional entanglement. This case, as is often true of cases of serious maladjustment, did not come under treatment until the situation was largely unmanageable. What can then be achieved is sufficiently disproportionate to the effort involved to make it seem more and more important that cases be detected in an earlier, more hopeful stage.

Authority difficulties are usually easily recognized by the teacher because the behavior is such an obvious interference to her main purpose, which is classroom instruction. Parents

appreciate the need of education and take seriously any disturbance that threatens the child's school success. Furthermore, they are often alarmed to discover that the child has difficulty in an environment that is beyond their control and with an authority that they as well as he must respect. Their coöperation and that of the teacher is the more readily secured because each of them has something to gain from the child's adjustment.

The teacher can be an active agent in the treatment of the child if she deals with the situation objectively, avoids authority issues, and gives him gradual insight into the childishness of his reactions. She can relieve his resentment of school by helping him to identify himself with its authority by delegating classroom responsibilities to him and by making it possible for him to receive the attention he craves through the constructive means of recognition for any good work and through participation in school activities, such as clubs and auditorium performances. Since the child's conflicts with school usually spring from feelings of inferiority, this treatment from the teacher will tend to strengthen his self-respect and stimulate his pride in being a part of the school régime. With his behavior as a measure of his adjustment, it is possible to know to what extent his problem is being solved.

The difficulty is more baffling in cases of personality maladjustment, because so much activity goes on *sub rosa* and disturbs the individual only, not those around him. Often parents are unaware of what is happening until the situation has progressed to a serious stage. The teacher is less able to deal with the problem, for the child is then unlikely to respond to the only sort of treatment attention she can give him in the classroom. Therefore, the detection of incipient personality difficulties offers the greatest hope for dealing with this large group of unadjusted children.

Until parents awake to the meaning of symptomatic behavior, the school can play an important rôle in detecting and treating personality and behavior disorders. If the school is equipped with such facilities as are afforded by a child-guidance clinic, it may utilize its truly unique opportunity to do a preventive mental-hygiene job that may eventually penetrate the life of the whole community.

EMOTIONAL FACTORS IN NUTRITION WORK WITH CHILDREN *

GEORGE J. MOHR, M.D.

Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago

THEORETICALLY it would seem that the problem of keeping a child well nourished is merely a matter of providing proper food, in the proper quantity and variety, and trusting to the gastrointestinal tract to do the rest. Such indeed is the usual situation, but, practically, an amazing array of hindrances obtrude themselves to obstruct this simple and happy course of events.

It may be well to review, briefly, the nature of the process with which we must deal if a child is to be well nourished. Appetite and hunger, it would seem, are considerations crucial to an understanding of why children do and do not eat. To quote Carlson,¹ "hunger and appetite are different, both in the quality of the sensation and in the mechanisms involved in the genesis of the sensation. . . . Appetite cannot be separated from our memory of past experiences with food . . . that is, the taste, smell, and appearance of food. . . . However, it is conceivable that appetite contains an elemental urge for food as an inherent mechanism and thus is not dependent upon individual experience with food, and that when the individual has such experience with food, memory processes of this experience fuse with or overshadow the inheritance factor, so that the two cannot be dissociated in consciousness."

Hunger is a sensation or group of sensations sufficiently familiar to need no attempt at description here. It has been shown² that hunger is dependent upon vigorous rhythmic

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¹ *The Control of Hunger in Health and Disease*, by A. J. Carlson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916. p. 11.

² Carlson, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

contractions of the stomach. These occur with a regular periodicity after the stomach has been empty of food for a given period of time. The hunger sensation is produced only by these contractions. The periodicity of these contractions has been determined in infants¹ and adults, and may offer indications as to proper feeding intervals in infancy.

Both appetite and hunger are readily modified or inhibited by a variety of circumstances. Since, as indicated above, appetite is dependent upon the memory of pleasant experiences related to the ingestion of food, it is not difficult to conceive of disturbances in appetite where, regularly, the eating process is not made a pleasant and satisfactory experience. Certainly, too, immediate circumstances may play an important part in modifying appetite. Certain animals at times may refuse food and actually starve to death if held in captivity, even though offered suitable food.

There is abundant experimental evidence of the influence of emotional states on the hunger contractions of the stomach. Carlson² has shown, in both dogs and men, that joy, fear, or anger inhibit these movements of the stomach. Tomi Wada³ states that "the nervous system that regulates the tonus and rhythm of hunger contractions is very sensitive to emotional stimuli. Reading exciting stories brought about emotional situations which, irrespective of whether they were of interest, fear, or sorrow, had an inhibitory effect upon the hunger rhythm. Emotional stimuli, therefore, affect the autonomic (especially the sympathetic) nervous system, which has an inhibitory effect upon the visceral function of the stomach." Carlson⁴ was able to demonstrate the marked inhibitory effect of fear on the normal hunger contractions. His subject, a healthy man with a permanent gastric fistula, observed Carlson preparing a quantity of beverage for him to drink, which he, the subject, thought might be harmful. Contractions ceased. On being reassured by seeing the experimenter

¹ Carlson, *ibid.*, p. 40. See also "The Onset of Hunger in Infants After Feeding", by K. Ginsberg, I. Tunapowski, and A. J. Carlson. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 64, pp. 1822-23, May 29, 1915.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

³ "An Experimental Study of Hunger in Its Relation to Activity", by Tomi Wada. New York: *Archives of Psychology*, No. 57, June, 1922.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 182.

himself drink generously of the beverage, the contractions shortly reappeared.

MacNevin¹ summarized the influence of psychic factors on the secretory activity of the gastrointestinal tract. The sight, odor, and taste of food are responsible, it seems, for the initial flow of gastric juice. Carlson² demonstrates that taste is much more provocative of this initial flow than is sight or odor, and that the quantity of such initial secretion is dependent upon the degree to which the individual finds the particular food agreeable or pleasant to the taste. The saliva and pancreatic secretions are said to be subject to similar influence. Just as the motility of the stomach may be influenced by the emotional states, such as fright and so forth, so may the digestive secretions be influenced.

There is evidence, too, that there are even more subtle relationships between emotional states and bodily metabolism than those connected with the gastrointestinal system. Hammett³ has made observations as to the relationship between emotional and metabolic stability. Studies of the nitrogen, urea, creatin, creatinine, uric and amino acid, and sugar content of the blood at various periods indicate that there is greater variability in these substances in unstable or excitable individuals than in stable persons. Hammett⁴ remarks that "the metabolism of the one (that is, the excitable individual) by its variability gives indications of the possibility of there being at one time an overtaxing of the organism, and at another time of the organism lacking a sufficient energy supply".

This cursory glance at physiological considerations indicates at once that psychic or emotional elements enter into the very fundamental processes that must be dealt with in the general problem of nutrition.

With regard to appetite, it is pointed out that this is dependent upon earlier experiences in the taking of food. We

¹"Emotional Influences in Gastrointestinal Diseases", by M. G. MacNevin, M.D. *New York Medical Journal*, Vol. 106, pp. 491-94, September 15, 1917.

²*Op. cit.*, p. 246.

³"Observation on the Relation Between Emotional and Metabolic Stability", by F. S. Hammett. *American Journal of Physiology*, Vol. 53, pp. 307-11, September, 1921.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 310.

have some indications that the *earliest* of these experiences may be important in determining the general character of the food-taking situation. The pediatricist often witnesses in the earliest weeks of life a most difficult and trying situation, in which the new and anxious mother and a fretful new baby keep a household in a near frenzy over the question of feeding the infant. Underfeeding, overfeeding, too frequent feeding, oversolicitude, and perhaps actual, but minor physical discomforts, together create instability and dissatisfaction in the feeding situation that may carry over indefinitely. Emotional disturbance of the mother clearly modifies her ability to nurse the child properly. The very character of the nursing process requires composure, a quiet and serene setting, and the complete absence of disturbing or conflicting elements. Two German investigators¹ have gone so far as actually to determine the effect of music on the efficiency of the human breast. When wet nurses were provided with an artistic, restful, and pleasant environment together with music, usually calm and serene, but lively during the actual nursing period, a distinct increase in the quantity of milk secreted was obtained. This phenomenon, the investigators point out, is related to the dairy tradition that cows give more milk when the cowherds and maids sing. It would be difficult to demonstrate the effect of emotional states on the process of metabolism, but the simpler conditions actually demonstrated in the laboratory, as above outlined, offer a sufficient basis for gauging the possibilities.

The character of the earliest feeding situation—*i.e.*, nursing—is such as to lay a possible foundation for later emotional difficulties. Close relationship to and dependence upon the mother are *particularly* associated with the feeding process, and it is indeed not unusual for the growing child to attempt to secure an extension of this blissful time by means that will be discussed later.

Let us turn to a consideration of the question of the child's nutrition as presented to the pediatricist. For our purpose—*i.e.*, the discussion of emotional factors in relation to nutri-

¹ "Zur Frage der Einwirkung der Musik auf die Ergiebigkeit der Weiblichen Brust", by Nebert and E. W. Koch. *Monatsschrift für Kinderheilkunde*, Vol. 33, pp. 385-90, September, 1926.

tion—we may at once rule out certain types of difficulties and problems that are common. Nutritional difficulties may arise from disease conditions that are not easily recognizable—for instance, chronic infection, such as tuberculosis. Disease or gross disturbance of the gastrointestinal system contributes a share of the difficulties. Various functional disabilities, such as inability to metabolize certain food substances and conditions such as coeliac disease, demand recognition and specific modes of treatment. Improper feeding *per se* may result in actual organic disturbance. In many of these situations, in which there are actually demonstrable disease processes, physical disturbances, or metabolic incapacities, there are superimposed symptoms more readily understandable as evidence of neurosis than of disease, and there is a considerable residue of cases in which it seems that the neurotic considerations alone are present or that they predominate.

A study of 66 cases investigated as feeding problems illustrates several of these points.¹ In selecting these cases, those in which there were definitely demonstrable disease conditions and those in which error in diet was distinctly responsible for the clinical picture were excluded. The children ranged from slightly less than one year to eleven years of age, but approximately one-half of them were less than three years of age. The complaints, in order of frequency, were as follows: poor appetite, vomiting, hyperactivity or "high tension", slow gain in weight, constipation, restlessness, and disturbed sleep. A less frequent symptom, which occurred seven times in the 66 cases, was abdominal pain. Stammering, blinking, fears, temper tantrums, and nail-biting were occasionally associated.

On all these children, records of complete physical examinations, including fluoroscopic observations, were available. In 28 cases physical findings were completely negative, except that some showed some degree of anæmia. In 37 cases there was a distinct anæmia and in some of the rest there was a slight degree of anæmia. In 22 cases the nutritional condition

¹ I wish here to express my appreciation to Dr. Julius H. Hess, who kindly made available records from his files and whose discussions of the material of this paper have been most helpful. Dr. Norman C. Klein also was generous with his time in helping select and tabulate material.

was distinctly good, in an equal number it was poor, and in the remaining 22 cases, there was no noteworthy deviation from normal. A variety of physical findings were noted. Enlarged tonsils and adenoids were the most frequent finding, but in only five of these cases was the condition such as to seem of possible significance. Carious teeth were noted in five cases. Otherwise there was no consistency of findings.

Interesting results were secured from the routine fluoroscopic examination. In a number of cases such findings as dilated stomach, slow emptying of the stomach, pyloric spasm, or other disturbances of motility were noted. This observation led to the question whether pyloric spasm or stenosis might not be of importance in the symptomatology of eight cases. None of these were cases in which such a diagnosis could actually be made on the basis of history, symptoms, or course of the disturbance. The fluoroscopic findings are merely suggestive, cannot be evaluated at the present time, and simply indicate the necessity of caution in coming to a conclusion as to the definite absence of disease conditions. Dr. Julius Hess, who made these fluoroscopic observations, particularly stresses this possibility. Dr. A. A. Levinson¹ also sounds a note of warning by citing two cases thought to be purely functional in which later actual pathology was demonstrated.

In the present group, no diagnosis of organic disease was made in 39 cases. In eight others the question of functional disturbance of the stomach remains, but again no diagnosis of organic disease could be made. In one the question of gastric ulcer was raised, but this finding was not verified. In five, tonsil and adenoid infection was considered important, but in all of these neurotic symptomatology was superimposed. In one additional case of tonsillar infection, this condition was considered the determining factor. Evidence of tubercular glands was found in two cases, heart conditions in two, and rachitic conditions in two. The general absence of rickets in this group is noteworthy; educational propaganda in regard to infant feeding has apparently markedly reduced the incidence of rickets.

¹ See his discussion of Dr. Isaac A. Abt's paper, "Anorexia in Infants", read before the Chicago Pediatric Society, November 16, 1926. Reported in the *American Journal of the Diseases of Children*, Vol. 33, pp. 688-93, April, 1927.

These findings are stressed here in detail so that one may obtain a proper perspective and more definitely isolate the question of emotional factors in the general problem of nutrition. The impression gained in the clinic and in pediatric practice is that much of the difficulty encountered in feeding children has no basis in organic factors, but that situational factors, inherent in the relationship of mother and child and in the feeding situation, are important considerations. This impression is borne out by the brief survey of our cases. It is to be noted that these observations have no statistical value, since they are gleaned from a few cases which made up a highly selected group. They do, however, provide data that substantiate the impressions cited.

It may be useful to attempt an explanation of the type of symptoms noted. We have already indicated that the very earliest feeding experiences may be hectic and disturbed, due to anxiety on the mother's part and perhaps to minor physical disturbances. The difficulties that arise on account of too late introduction of solid foods, delayed weaning, and similar irregularities in the feeding program are well known. A fact that the mother does not appreciate is that the child creates an emotional situation, or takes advantage of an emotional situation created for him, and uses it as a powerful weapon to attain specific ends. Witness the comments of mothers: "The child chokes on solid food." "He will take milk only when asleep." "He will take liquids only" (age two and a half years). "The child will not eat unless fed by the mother." "My daughter vomits frequently, but only at breakfast time on school days, never on Saturdays or Sundays." "He refuses all but cold foods or fluids and complains of pain when he doesn't want to eat." This last child also threatened to vomit when an attempt was made to take his temperature. "The baby would starve if I didn't feed him." "The child puts his finger in his mouth and makes himself vomit."

The sometimes bizarre character of the child's performance is understandable only in terms of utility and as an outgrowth of faulty habituation. It is certainly well understood that a natural and reasonable objective of the child is the maintenance of his own security, his hold upon the attention

and loving care of his mother particularly, the rest of the family perhaps incidentally. To attain this objective, he uses sometimes force, sometimes wile. In this form, poor appetite is to be regarded as a neurotic device similar to enuresis, temper display, tics, fears, and other behavior patterns of utility in the neurotic rôle.

It need hardly be said that those circumstances which contribute to other neurotic manifestations on the part of children generally are also operative in feeding difficulties. The only child in the family, the youngest child, or a first child, displaced from his preëminent position by the arrival of a new pretender to the affections of the parents, each presents special features of the emotional setting of the family life that may contribute to an elaboration of neurotic symptomatology on the part of the child.

From a practical standpoint, there are often many difficulties in resolving such a situation, even if the mother is not completely "taken in" by the child's performance. Witness the complaint of an intelligent mother trained as a nurse. The father is a research fellow in bacteriology who has done public-health teaching. The child is three and a half years of age. "He will simply not eat unless I feed him or his father does. When he was eighteen months old, he began to help himself, but now makes no attempt. He *can* do so, since he did when a neighboring child was over for a meal recently. His father usually feeds him at dinner time. I make him do that because I have trouble with the child all day long, and anyway he likes to do it. Whenever he comes home, he asks, 'How did the baby take his milk?' I know we shouldn't do this sort of thing, and recently I made a serious attempt to stop it. I didn't feed him at all—simply offered him his food, and he didn't eat for two whole days. He got awfully weak. My husband didn't interfere, but he went around with an awfully long face as though to say, 'Well, I won't interfere, but this is your doing, not mine.' I kept thinking that the boy might catch cold, and in his weakened condition would have no resistance. I couldn't stand the notion of being responsible for anything happening to him. Anyway, I always look to my husband for advice in these matters."

It is easy to see that such a situation is not a simple one,

and is closely tied up with many considerations that properly should have no relationship to the feeding process. It is by no means an exaggerated incident. Wherever and whenever the nutrition of the child is discussed, we find this factor presenting itself, and the great difficulty of modifying the situation is apparent. "A child who has borne the pageant of an empty stomach successfully from home to the seaside and to relations in the country will not always accept a sudden change in attitude."¹ "He has a reputation to live up to."² "He can always win the honors of the day by vomiting."³ These are expressions of the attitudes of various physicians who have attempted to describe the situation.

I will not be so bold as to attempt to present in detail methods of treatment for these situations. Since we are not dealing with a disease entity, each case is likely to have many individual features which require specific consideration. Certain general considerations, however, may reasonably be presented.

The problem is fundamentally one of preventive pediatrics and of mental hygiene. Since its genesis lies in the earliest situations to which the child is exposed, so must its prevention be sought by proper direction of these early situations. It is often impossible to give the young mother real insight and the courage and stability to carry out a routine designed to preclude such difficulties as those described. In so far, however, as it is possible to give the mother such insight, just so far can these difficulties be avoided. A routine that from the earliest days permits as little stress as possible on the feeding process can hardly permit the development of exaggerated responses on the part of the child. After the situation has developed, it may be necessary to teach an entire family the facts of the case, and this is assuredly a most difficult and thankless procedure. The moment the child can no longer use his feeding difficulties as a weapon over his family, progress is made. Certainly, too, more positive

¹ "The Treatment of Anorexia in Children", by N. Hobhouse, M.B. *Lancet*, Vol. 208, pp. 503-4, March 7, 1925.

² *The Nervous Child*, by H. C. Cameron. London: Oxford University Press, 1926.

³ *The Prevention of Poor Appetite in Children*, by C. A. Aldrich, M.D. *MENTAL HYGIENE*, Vol. 10, pp. 701-11, October, 1926.

aspects may be stressed. A child who can be taught to conform generally to the social usages of others of his age can be taught to eat properly, unaided. The child who is placed in a children's ward where other children eat and the whole matter is very impersonal and matter-of-fact rarely refuses to eat. This setting may also be reproduced by arranging for some degree of association with other children at home or in a nursery school or kindergarten. The immediate objective should be the creation of a situation which utterly destroys the battle-ground setting of mealtime.

The social situation in which the child finds approval for himself by conformity to a new sort of demand provides in part the basis for the success obtained by nutrition classes for older children. There is constant stress here upon the competitive aspect, and the general social sanction of the process of eating and gaining weight is a primary consideration in this method of improving nutrition. The imposed desire to eat and interest in eating certainly tend to create a condition conducive to appetite, and this soon is reflected in the development of appropriate habits of eating.

SUMMARY

1. It has been demonstrated that emotional influences modify the fundamental psychological and physiological mechanisms that determine appetite and hunger. Certain relationships between emotional and metabolic stability have been pointed out. The secretory activity of the gastrointestinal tract is subject, likewise, to certain psychic and emotional stimuli. In general, then, we may say that physiological processes concerned with nutrition bear a distinct relationship to the emotional state of the individual and are distinctly modifiable by emotional changes.

2. The earliest feeding situation is dependent upon an emotional relationship between mother and child. Disturbances in this relationship may lead to immediate difficulty in providing proper nutriment for the child. Properly utilized, however, this situation offers a powerful means for the establishment of routine and the formation of habits that may forever simplify the question of feeding. Exaggeration of

this situation may lead to the development on the part of the child of behavior designed to prolong the infantile state of dependence.

3. In many children who present feeding problems, there are actual disease conditions, such as chronic infections or disturbance of the gastrointestinal system, which are occasionally secondary to improper methods of feeding.

4. If we rule out all cases in which there is disease, or organic or functional incapacity of some sort, as well as cases in which the food itself is not properly selected or prepared, there is still a residue of cases with unexplained symptoms.

5. In these latter cases, neurotic manifestations may be recognized, and here the emotional element is of primary importance. The child may be utilizing a neurotic device to attain an understandable end or the mother may induce the difficulties by anxieties and fears, but more frequently the situation is a rather subtle one in which there is much emotional interplay between the various members of the family who ordinarily have close contact with the child.

6. Such emotional-nutritional situations may be prevented by a properly controlled early dietetic régime and ordinary habit training of the infant. This requires considerable insight on the part of the mother. Once developed, the situation is often rather difficult to manage.

7. The mother, and probably other members of the family, require instruction designed to give them appreciation of the child's tactics and their own particular rôles in relation to those tactics.

8. Temporarily, complete separation of the child from the family group may be necessary and is usually quickly effective in developing in the child more useful modes of behavior. Observation of this phenomenon by the mother does much to develop in her a better point of view and encourages her to carry out more effective tactics.

9. Proper handling of this feeding problem is of much broader significance than might be supposed if it is viewed merely as a problem of nutrition. If this difficulty is properly met, it is quite likely that the behavior and habits of the child in general will more readily conform to reasonable standards. Failure to cope adequately with this problem implies a likeli-

hood of similar unsatisfactory modes of behavior in other fields of activity.

The disturbances of character outlined are so much more readily prevented than corrected that it behooves workers and physicians to attempt early instruction of mothers along the lines indicated. It is to be hoped that these facts will find broader acceptance and be more specifically incorporated in attempts to improve nutrition among children.

PEOPLES OF BIBLE LANDS AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD MENTAL DISEASE

NORMAN A. BALDWIN

*Secretary of the American Committee of the Lebanon Hospital for Mental
Diseases, Asfuriyeh, Beirut, Syria; American Office, Philadelphia*

THE attitude of the people of Bible lands toward the mentally afflicted differs according to their religious beliefs. The natives of Palestine and Syria are of a common Phœnicio-Arab stock. They are divided into entirely separate groups by the religions into which they are born. The Mohammedan Arabs are the most numerous, the Christian Arabs take second place, and the Jews form a small minority.

The Christian Arabs are for the most part either adherents of the Greek Orthodox faith or of the Maronite branch of the Church of Rome. They look upon insanity, as did the people of New Testament times, as nothing less than demoniacal possession and call the sufferer "*madjuoon*", a term derived from "*djan*", a demon. Treatment consists in confining the insane in vaults and caverns, where they are given nothing but bread and water to eat and are often beaten and branded. In fact, no method is considered too severe to exorcise the demon. The following account, by Theophilus Waldmeier, founder of the Lebanon Hospital for Mental Diseases in Syria, is a case in point:

"A woman from Brumana became insane in consequence of a severe illness. Her relations, having no other resource, went to a Maronite priest and asked him to come and cast the demon out of her. The old priest, whom I knew very well, came and began to perform the exorcism in his priestly dress, carrying the censer and the big silver cross in his hands; these were the visible weapons by which he would fight against the invisible demons that possessed the poor woman. The woman was put into a fearful position, being placed on her head, while two men held her body straight up, and she was bound with

ropes to a pillar. The priest read the formula of exorcism, fumigating the woman all the time, and when he commanded the demon to depart, it said with a loud voice, 'Yes, I shall leave this woman, but I shall enter into the souls of those who are standing outside the house.' A crowd of people who were standing watching the proceedings of the priest, on hearing this threat, ran quickly away, while the priest continued his work of exorcism; but the demon was obstinate and would not obey. The woman became so excited that she began to curse the priest, who also became excited, and was not ashamed to use his large silver cross by beating her very hard upon her face, until the blood streamed down upon it. After this brutal treatment, she was half dead. When she had recovered her strength again, it was evident that she had not recovered her reason, and was not merely as insane as before, but much worse. She ran away from Brumana down to the sea, where she drowned herself."

The writer visited a monastery near Bethlehem, Palestine, known as "The Monastery of St. George". (Ever since this saint subdued the dragon, he has been attributed with the power of casting out demons.) Here I found an insane woman chained to a pillar in the chapel. The heavy chain was attached to a pillar and, after encircling her, was continued to the altar of the church. She had nothing but the cold stone floor to stand and sleep upon. Her food consisted solely of bread and water. This treatment was supplemented by cruel beatings. The regular prayers of the priest before the altar were supposed to benefit her directly through the merit conveyed along the clanging chain. Sometimes there were several patients in this chapel together, each attached to a different pillar.

Dr. Wolff, formerly medical superintendent of the Lebanon Hospital, writes the following:

"The most noted of the monasteries used for exorcising evil spirits is at Kuzheya. It has a famous cave used for casting out devils and dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua, who lived there, it is said, for forty years as a hermit and has imparted healing power to the monks in charge of it. Kuzheya is situated in a lonely valley between two large villages, Thedia and Besherreh, near the cedars of Lebanon (the only

real cedars now extant being a group of about 300 situated five days' journey north from Beirut and 6,000 feet above sea level). It is a very old place. Towards the entrance of the valley there are two huge rocks, standing near each other, which the monks have arched over, and on the arch they have fixed a crucifix. Under this the insane have to pass on their way to the cave. The test by which they judge whether the poor sufferer is possessed by one or more evil spirits is the fear and struggle he shows when forced to pass the crucifix. After passing, the patient is put into the cave, where the attending monks begin the cruel and inhuman torture which they call treatment, and which defies description. No wonder that these wretched victims often breathe their last under such circumstances, some of which I witnessed myself.

"There was one patient lying quite naked under a huge stone, his feet and neck fastened down with iron chains; for twelve days he had been confined in that position, scarcely able to move, in the utter darkness of this fearful cavern with the water trickling down its damp wall."

Up to this point we have been describing methods in use by Christian Arabs. The orthodox Jews also look upon insanity as demon possession and resort to incantations and to ignorant methods of exorcism. The attitude of the Mohammedans is very different from that of the Christian Arabs. When the patient is a Mohammedan, they attribute his condition to a species of divine manifestation and treat him with consideration and respect. Many mad men are left to roam at large in Mohammedan countries. This freedom from the irritation of confinement is beneficial, and for the most part these individuals are only noisy mendicants.

One sees them daily around the markets, dressed in ragged garments decorated with any gay tag they can pick up and invariably with a spear in hand and a beggar's food receptacle swinging around the neck. With long, disheveled hair and wild mien, they are altogether awe-inspiring to their co-religionists and have no difficulty in obtaining all the food they require and the clothing they demand. They make their homes in caves, which abound in Palestine, choosing isolated parts.

In my early manhood, when in Jerusalem, I taught English to a young Mohammedan nobleman. During one of the lessons

there came to the door for alms one of these Mohammedan mad beggars, and we discussed them. They are called "dervishes" and the same term is used for religious zealots. My pupil told me that he had known of cases where the awe that these mad beggars inspired in the hearts of the Mohammedans was such that they could do with impunity whatever they desired. He told of the very spot inside the wall of Jerusalem near the Gate of the Flowers—which is a quiet section of the Mohammedan quarter—where one of these wild characters had thrown his great cloak over a woman right there in the street and, using it to shelter them from sight, was unmolested by the passers-by.

The explanation of this attitude is the fact that the dancing dervishes and other similar fanatics work themselves up into religious frenzies, out of which they emerge next morning in normal condition, but during the frenzy, they are so utterly beside themselves that there is no difference between their appearance and that of the real maniacs. As these religious dervishes are revered as holy men, the maniacs are classed in somewhat the same category.

Near my home in Jerusalem was a little mosque where the sheikh who called the hours of prayer from the minaret had the power to control religious frenzies. Here no group of dervishes assembled, but the men of the locality who were desirous of going into the ecstatic religious state known in Arabic as "*zikeir*", which means "intoxication", would gather here of an evening. I have watched them through the window on several occasions. At such times about twenty men, young and old, peasants, merchants, and noblemen, led by the sheikh, would go through their regular prescribed form of evening prayers as followed by all Mohammedans; and then, forming in a circle, they would utter the phrase, "*Allah hoo! Allah hoo!*"—that is, "God is the One! God is the One!" Repeated in unison continuously, accompanied by a rhythmic swaying of the head up and down like a satisfied horse in a field of grain, this soon "gets" them. They gradually increase their tempo until at last the sound is like a rushing torrent, with the last syllable each time shot out of heaving lungs; their eyes roll, and one after another they fall exhausted in an ecstatic trance.

I have talked with them later about the effect, and they invariably say that they experienced a marvelous exaltation, as if carried away into an indescribably heavenly realm. On keeping close watch, I have observed that as soon as the sheikh got them all under the influence of the rhythm, he slowed up and did not become dizzy like the others and, strange to say, could without trouble restore any one of them to normality by speaking quietly to him.

To return to our topic, the insane in Mohammedan countries are, of course, confined if they become violent. I knew of a case in Southern Arabia where a giant of a man who had lost his reason was confined in a stockade and depended upon the public for his support.

That the insane who are not Mohammedans are not venerated by the Mohammedans is shown by the following incident.

There was a Bethlehemite, a member of the Greek Orthodox Church, named Abu Khaleil, who made money as a pedlar and small tradesman in South America and, returning to Palestine with his hoard, visited Paris on the way. Here he became entangled with a French woman who relieved him of his savings. This affected his mind and he became a raving maniac. He was a great, big fellow, and was often seen on the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, where he would ask passers-by for cigarettes. He slept in a cave not far from the Monastery of Elias, for the monks provided him with food.

One day I was on a donkey-back ride with a group of other young people. We left Jerusalem and rode out around the Mount of Olives to picnic in the grounds of an English woman who lived near Bethany. At one place on the road, as it makes a turn around the base of Olivet, the highway forms a horseshoe curve. About the middle of this curve ahead of us was a small group of peasant women of Bethany on their way home from the Jerusalem market, dressed in their blue linen gowns and their white head shawls. Empty produce baskets upon their heads, they walked along at a swinging gait. Just as they were passing the entrance to a deep cave in the hillside at the left of the road, a figure appeared at the mouth of the cave, grabbed the hindermost, and started to drag her in.

The other women were so alarmed and taken by surprise that they fled, shrieking.

Not far behind, between us and the women, a number of mounted Bedouins of Abu Dies, a village that lies a little to the south of Bethany, were riding homewards. They heard the cries of the women and in a moment had galloped up and rescued the one who had been dragged into the cave. By the time we rode up on our donkeys, the Bedouins had one of their thick black headdress ropes around the culprit's neck and were beating him mercilessly with the back of a drawn sword. We knew these men and entreated them to let him go, which they did. He was not sufficiently injured to prevent him from running like a wild animal let loose straight down the steep hillside over rocks and bushes and away out of sight toward the Monastery of Elias in the far distance. This was the only time we heard of Abu Khaliel resorting to violence. Had he been a Mohammedan, these Mohammedan Bedouins would have treated him less severely.

Some may think that the enlightenment of the present day has changed all this, but Dr. Watson Smith, the present medical superintendent of the Lebanon Hospital, writes as follows on the subject:

"I would like to mention that although this hospital has been open for the reception of patients for over twenty-five years and is known all over the country, primitive methods of treatment in the form of exorcism are still much in use. Spells are still believed in. Chaining naked patients in damp caves and beating them with shoes to trample out the demons is still practiced, and we continue to receive patients who have had crosses and other devices cauterized on their heads by means of red-hot irons."

The "unchanging East" continues to look upon insanity as demon possession. The Lebanon Hospital has cared for over 3,000 patients throughout the twenty-six years since it was established. Of these 800 were discharged as cured and 700 as improved, yet the fact that all these patients have been helped without exorcism has not convinced the natives that mental trouble is to be looked upon merely as a disease of the mind, as pulmonary consumption is a disease of the lungs. Blind confidence in the methods of the hospital is, however,

so great that it is at present embarrassed by the number of patients brought to it, not only from Syria and Palestine, but from distant parts of Mesopotamia, Arabia, and other countries. A new building for acute cases among the women patients is greatly needed. In some cases women patients have been obliged to sleep in the corridors for lack of room, and this inconvenient crowding interferes with their cure.

TREATMENT OF PROBLEM CHILDREN BY MEANS OF A LONG-TIME CAMP *

E. S. RADEMACHER, M.D.

Psychiatrist, Cleveland Child Guidance Clinic

UNIQUE among summer camps is Camp Wawokiye. Unusual, too, in the line of community service is the relationship that the Cleveland Child Guidance Clinic has to the camp. The camp was established in 1926 through the efforts of members of the Presbyterion Union and of W. I. Newstetter, the director of an already well-established community camp financed by the Presbyterian Union. These men realized that the average time of placement for children in the camps available was too short to allow of a great carry-over of the ideals and interests acquired during the camp period. They felt that even though lengthening the placement period would necessarily reduce the number who could be benefited, the results qualitatively would be greater for each member. Dr. Lawson G. Lowrey, then of the Demonstration Child Guidance Clinic in Cleveland, gave added impetus to the movement by showing the possibilities of such a placement in the treatment of difficult children. In a placement camp of this kind there would be opportunity for the child to remain for a longer period in an environment where erratic parental discipline would not be a factor and where mental-hygiene methods could be carried out without prejudice. Here, too, group leaders could be trained who would handle problem children in other centers. Such a camp might also be used as a laboratory for the study of methods of group treatment.

Camp Wawokiye was organized to accommodate thirty boys, each to stay one month. Six counselors, each to have five boys under his care, were selected from a group of recreation workers who had special aptitudes along camp lines. These counselors were all graduate students, working in the

* Read at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, New York, February 24, 1928.

fields of psychology, mental hygiene, and social work. Prior to the opening of the camp, a series of lectures and case studies of the problem boys was given by Dr. Lowrey.

In its first year, only half of the group of thirty boys were children who, because of their personality or deportment, had been selected for study at the Child Guidance Clinic. The rest were obtained through the regular channels of the summer-camp registry. This group were "non-problem" children. The group selected by the clinic to attend the camp, however, presented problems of various kinds. Some had been referred either for stealing, lying, truancy, insubordination, inability to get along at home or in school, silly or extravagant behavior, or for several of these problems. Others were inclined to be seclusive, shut-in, withdrawn from group contacts, apprehensive, hyper-timid, or dependent. The first period of one month was reserved for children from ten to thirteen years of age, and the second for those from thirteen to sixteen years.

In the initial case conferences, each individual case was carefully studied. Weaknesses and abilities were noted and plans for treatment were evolved that aimed at overcoming the boy's weaknesses and helping him to become a self-reliant individual who could use his assets in a socially acceptable way and yet at the same time secure a certain amount of personal satisfaction.

During the first month Dr. Lowrey made weekly visits to the camp for conferences with the counselors. As further psychiatric service was desired, after the close of the first period the writer attended the camp as resident psychiatrist and held daily conferences with the counselors. At the same time advantage was taken of the greater opportunity afforded by the camp to study the children and work directly with them in the various conflicts and conflict situations in which they were involved. The counselors made daily notes on their cases and submitted, to the interested agency or person, a report of the boy's progress, the type of treatment used, and the adjustment made, together with a possible plan for continued work with the patient throughout the year. These cases were then followed up by the clinic throughout the school term to note their adjustment in home or institution, school,

and social group, and to ascertain whether any carry-over of the camp activities or ideals was in evidence. The majority of the cases showed improvement on returning to their former environment and held this gain and their interest in the camp throughout the year.

During the winter, the present Cleveland Child Guidance Clinic, under the directorship of Dr. Henry C. Schumacher, worked with the camp director to further plans for the second summer. It was felt that the expense of equipping such a camp with full-time psychiatric service was advisable. It was agreed also that the period of placement should be lengthened to five weeks instead of four, with a further reservation that, upon recommendation of the counselors and the psychiatrist, a child might be kept on for the second period of the camp. This further limited the number of children who could be handled. A staff meeting of counselors and psychiatrist was included in the daily routine, this always taking place at night after the final tent discussion. The chief counselor was freed from daily duties with a tent by the addition of a seventh counselor to the staff. Several counselors of the preceding year returned and the others were selected as before. Only problem children were taken, the group being selected from cases in the clinic files or from the psychiatric unit of other agencies. These cases were reviewed in conference with the counselors by the psychiatrist and their records were kept in the camp file for ready reference. Practically every type of problem met in a mental-hygiene unit was represented in the boys treated by the camp throughout the summer.

The psychiatrist's time was divided between direct work with the individual boys, discussions with the individual counselors relative to any problem that might have arisen in their respective groups, and the daily staff conference with the counselors. This general conference took the form either of a lecture on some phase of mental hygiene or of a more informal presentation of case material actually gathered at the camp. In this latter type of conference an attempt was made to arrive at an understanding of the conduct manifested, and if it was of an annoying or undesirable nature, some plan of treatment was discussed. The psychiatrist also kept in touch with the psychiatric social workers at the clinic, in order

to keep them informed as to the progress of the cases. This phase is an essential part of the work, in as much as the social worker can approach the parents, discuss with them the child's camp adjustment, and often secure greater coöperation than could otherwise be obtained.

In direct treatment of the individual, the psychiatrist's approach was of a more informal nature than is possible in a clinic office. Engaging in activity with the child and using this as a means of gaining close confidence, the psychiatrist frequently was able, through suggestion alone or through occasional comment, to influence rather exaggerated or extravagant behavior to expression through more socially acceptable channels. Since he had no definite connection with the disciplinary or authoritative side of the camp, he could sometimes lead aside a boy in emotional difficulties and get him to talk about them or his grievances and thus be brought to discuss them. In this way an adjustment could often be made. Occasionally a boy engaged in a sulk could be approached by the psychiatrist through the suggestion of some new activity or idea, and with his attention focused on that, it was easy for him to get back into the group without hurting his ego. It was found after much experience with sulking boys that the most effective treatment, so far as giving the boy insight into his difficulties was concerned, was to wait until the sulk period was well over and the boy interested in other things. Then, because his attitude toward himself and others was different, it was possible to discuss the past difficulties, showing their probable causes and in many cases giving the patient considerable insight into the entire situation.

Direct psychiatric work was often facilitated by the fact that the close contact with these boys afforded an opportunity to follow their individual interests and ideas, and this alone frequently gave many excellent clues as to the conflicts at work within them. One outstanding example will show this most clearly. Walter, a boy of ten, was having considerable difficulty in getting along at camp. He was a boy who was in the habit of manifesting extravagant behavior in school, always pushing to the front and forcing himself into all situations. He was rather evasive and sneaky and subject to extreme sulks and unpleasant tantrums whenever criticized

or questioned about his behavior. Added to his other problems was an extremely loud and harsh voice, which grated not only on the counselors, but on the other boys as well. This boy derived great satisfaction from trips up and down the beach, and went into paroxysms of joy upon finding dead fish. He collected them, carefully piled them away, and always showed a new specimen to every one who happened to be at hand. On one particular day he found an unusually large one, which brought out a greater outburst than ever before. When he was questioned about this interest, there was usually a quick suppression of his activity, a lowering of his head, a frowning manner, and usually a sulk, his explanation for which was that the counselors picked on him. It was eventually found out that his interest in the large fish was an anatomical one, the result of considerable sex curiosity on his part, and incidentally a factor in an inferiority attitude to which he was reacting. A discussion of sex, using the fish and other animals as clinical material, did much to bring about a more stable and satisfied attitude than he had shown before.

The psychiatrist must work not only with the boys, but also with the counselors, who frequently must be warned about keeping their own emotional attitudes in the background. Some of these problem children show an almost constant contempt and defiance of authority and practically every suggestion of the counselor is met by slang or vulgar expressions. To show that such behavior, as well as the laziness or indifference that some of the children exhibit, is a symptom of some maladjustment is a difficult task, and especially so if the counselor is particularly sensitive to such activity. This approach was frequently used as the basis of the evening conference and served as an added impetus to further a scientific piece of work in the camp. This particular phase of discussion led to the forming of a rating scale on introverted and extraverted children which is still being studied, and also to a short study of the particular attractions which led to those natural groupings that occur in any social gathering.

Some further points of interest were discovered relative to the treatment of a sulking child. The most effective treatment apparently was to let them alone. This was extremely valuable during the initial period of the sulk. During this

time these children would be very much in evidence and would become quite nettled when they saw that they were not getting the counselor's attention. A second reaction usually consisted of the boy's threatening to go home—this often followed by a very elaborate collecting of his personal effects and throwing them into his bag. Then came the stage of attempting to leave, condemning the camp and telling every one around that he was going home. Even though no attention had been paid him by the counselors, his actual leaving of the camp grounds would be most ostentatious. He would attempt to attract attention from all sides, yet at the same time try to give the impression of much stealth. Finally, having attracted the attention of the other boys, he would start through the woods. He would be met, purposely, by a counselor other than his, who would approach him in a casual manner and ask him where he was going. The boy was usually quite willing to be brought back to camp, but the thing that bothered him most was facing the other boys. The counselor usually met this difficulty by finding something of interest which, upon entering the camp, would be displayed to the group. The boy's suitcase would be forgotten and he would again be one of the group.

Some of these children in a sulk would show much ingenuity in devising methods by which they could, with the least discomfort, return to the group. Frequently, at times of general formations, a boy who came unwashed would not be allowed to go into the mess tent with the others. This very often resulted in rebellion and a sulk. Upon being left alone, he might suddenly come running to the group yelling loudly about a blue heron carrying a fish. The boys would rush out to watch, and in this way he would become one of the group again. One chronic sulker became upset when the camp was on an overnight hike seven miles away. He was left alone and did not take the opportunity to return to his own tent group when invited by them to do so. They were counseled to let him alone, and with every one else engaged, he was soon out of it entirely. He hiked back to the main camp and was surprised to find a counselor present. He told this counselor that he had come back for writing paper. The counselor pointed out to him the impossibility of remaining at the main

camp, gave him writing paper, and sent him back to the overnight site. Upon his return, he showed his own counselor the writing paper and attempted to explain his initial grievance. He was very tired, however, and started to cry. No attempt was made to listen to his story. Instead, the counselor announced to his group that Harold had his writing paper now and could help them in preparing their evening meal. The entire situation was discussed with him the next day and sufficient insight was given him to prevent further occurrences of the kind during his stay. This could probably not have been accomplished had any attention been given him during the episode.

Consistency in carrying out promises or orders frequently actually surprised and bewildered the boys. One boy who, on several occasions, had not entered into projects that offered some alluring reward, and had even on occasion tried to persuade his particular friend to refrain from entering, found himself missing certain "desserts". Soon, however, he became a most willing worker and was heard to voice the expression, "By God, they do what they say they will out here!"

The children who gave the most difficulty so far as treatment was concerned were those who made use of physical complaints in order to cover up their inabilities and their general poor adjustment. Physical complaints could not be overlooked entirely, for a casual treatment even of assumed illnesses and injuries often brought unfavorable comment from the other children. A boy who frequently made use of physical complaints was one day actually hurt when playing in the woods. He was examined casually by the counselor and left alone. Later he was dragged into camp by three boys, all of whom were indignant at the counselor. The patient, however, quite surprised every one when, during the process of splinting his ankle, he announced that it was all his fault and that he was not going to complain about things any more.

The boy who is showing the greatest improvement at present is one who made use of all sorts of physical complaints. This boy came to the clinic during the early spring, referred by the school physician because of his many physical complaints and peculiar behavior, for which no adequate physical

explanation could be found. Social investigation revealed a broken home, the boy living with his mother and a sister nine years older. This mother was most solicitous for his welfare, often telling him on his return from school that he looked tired and pale and had better lie down, and she would bring his food to him. He was thirteen years old, yet his play life was limited to wheeling about the five-year-old daughter of the landlady. In his interviews at the clinic he was most polite, would discuss outside interests at length, and ingeniously evaded discussion of his poor group contacts. He discussed Scout activities in detail, although the history mentioned the fact that after his mother had finally enrolled him in this group, his attendance at meetings had been limited to a few occasions. Direct treatment was not making any great progress with the boy. Some progress was seen, however, in the mother.

The boy came to camp and almost immediately was called "the Girl Scout" by the others. He spent his first few days telling of his abilities and camp experiences of other years. His stories became rather extreme and finally he was called upon by the others to show some of this ability. This brought on various illnesses which, before the novelty of his peculiar methods of suffering wore off, gave him some peace from jibes as well as a certain amount of recognition from the group. After this came talk about going home. He gave all kinds of excuses as to why he should go home. Discussion of his problems with him availed little and eventually he ran away.

The mother had been kept in contact with the situation through explanations and interpretations of his activity by the social worker, and when the boy reached home, she followed the worker's advice and returned him to camp. He was very quiet for a time and tended to stay rather close to his counselor, but soon resorted to physical ailments again. Later he did hurt his foot, and while there was no very serious trouble, rest of the extremity was advised, so that crutches were obtained for him. These went big for a time and he was able to gain much recognition through them. While using crutches, he talked at length about what he would do if he didn't have the "bum foot", and wished very much

that the accident had not occurred. Eventually crutches lost their romance, and he was rather left alone. He used to slip with his crutches and hurt himself in some new way, but the group began to react unfavorably toward him. One day he threw away the crutches and ran up and down, explaining that his foot was better and that he could go on the tent hike, which offered rather alluring prospects. He was made to continue the use of crutches, and at the same time much discussion was held with him relative to his entire personality and his method of reacting to his inability to compete successfully with the others. Much individual work was done with him by each of the counselors also in an attempt to help him to compete with the others. He stayed for the entire ten weeks and got along very well with the second group of boys. In his school at the present time he is working for a position on a school team, is president of one group and a member of other special groups, and has a healthier home relationship. In this case the fostering of neurotic habits in the home and the response that he received from his mother would probably have prevented, or at least delayed, psychiatric treatment, so that the present healthy adjustment would still be far from reached.

The question of discipline, punishment, and reward took a prominent place in the evening discussions. Experimenting was necessary before results were seen. The general plan was, however, to discipline from the standpoint of the individual's needs and therefore no set rules were laid down. This frequently brought forth criticism from some of the boys, who would complain, "You only made John do this, and look what I have to do!" This was taken up immediately with the individual in an attempt to show him that after all it was his conduct that he was responsible for and not the other boy's, and this actually did go a long way toward giving him ideas as to his own personal responsibility.

The results of this two-year experiment have not as yet been determined. The counselors' reports to the interested agencies with regard to the boys' activities during camp, together with follow-up work throughout the winter, have been most useful. Through the discussions of the discipline of the child during the camp period, parents who have visited

the camp have been able to gain many suggestions that are of use to them on the child's return to his own home. In many cases the psychiatrist, because of the opportunity to interview the boy at the right moment, has been able to give him considerable insight regarding his various difficulties. From the point of view of the individual case, the results of such a camp set-up seem to justify the expense of maintaining it. Of the children who have attended during the past two years, practically all have shown improvement. This carry-over in some of them points to the possibility of a permanent improvement in their adjustment. Some have had to return to homes where social treatment over a long period of time has had little effect. Here, too, some of the children returned to the more evasive methods they had used prior to the camp experience. One boy who attended this past summer's camp, on returning to a very unstable home, ran away soon after and later was involved in difficulties that brought about placement in an institution.

Little can be said as yet regarding the value of such a camp as a means of working out methods of group treatment. Probably the very individualistic natures of the children who attend it make this camp an unsuitable place for the study of such methods.

The question as to whether thirty problem children of such varying natures, as well as such different social environments, should be assembled in one group is, of course, difficult to answer. At the present time the writer feels that the dangers of this are offset by having the tent groups limited to five boys under the supervision of one counselor. The careful selection of these leaders has been a factor in preventing many serious effects that might have ensued under other conditions. Certainly the training given to the counselors makes them of special value to the agencies with which they are associated, in that they not only can recognize a problem child when they see one, but know how to follow up psychiatric recommendations and treatment for their charges.

ABSTRACTS

BIOLOGICAL AND PATHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOR DISORDERS. By Herman M. Adler, M.D. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 7:507-15, November, 1927.

Theories as to the causation of crime can be divided into two groups—the constitutional and the environmental.

The constitutional group includes all those theories that attribute criminality to some quality in the individual. Probably the earliest of these was that of demoniac possession—the conception of the criminal as an innately good man temporarily in the power of evil spirits. This was followed by the theory of innate evil. According to this view, the natural impulses of all mankind are toward evil and must be subjected to discipline. "For the wise, the discipline of example might suffice; for the average, the discipline of experience; but for the wicked, nothing less than the discipline of punishment." Our treatment of delinquents and criminals is still strongly influenced by this theory.

The rise of modern biological science led to the attempt to explain criminality as a manifestation of disease and gave rise to such theories as the criminal anthropology of Lombroso, based on the belief that behavior disorders are the direct results of specific causes. This belief was strengthened by the discoveries in bacteriology. But while the researches carried out along this line in the fields of psychology and criminality made important contributions to our knowledge of the physical signs of constitutional defect and disease and accumulated many anthropological data of value in the study of physiognomy and malformations, the definite, clear-cut results of bacteriology and pathology failed of realization in criminology.

The discovery of brain "localization" served as the starting point for the "parallel theory that all personality, whether criminal or not, arose from deviations in the structure of the brain, and that any defect there, whether due to inheritance, to disease, or to deformity, might cause criminality".

A little later the work of Binet with intelligence testing had a great effect upon conceptions of criminality. His tests were immediately applied to criminals in institutions, and a surprisingly high percentage of feeble-mindedness was found. Whereupon every one promptly jumped to the conclusion that here was an important cause of criminality. But five or six years later, when the army tests made it possible to study a really large group of the non-criminal population,

the same high percentage of feeble-mindedness was found among them, exploding the theory of feeble-mindedness as a major factor in crime.

Opposed to this group of theories, all of which find the cause of crime in the make-up of the criminal, is the second group, which conceives criminality to be the result of factors entirely outside the individual criminal. All these theories, whether they place the blame upon economic conditions or other factors in the environment, are fundamentally the same—"all hold that men are *good*; it is *environment* which makes them bad".

Both of these groups of theories have a good deal of evidence to support them. If either represented the whole truth, the lines along which remedial treatment should proceed would be clear. "In the first case, eugenics plus extermination of the unfit would wipe out the problem of crime. In the second, improvement of social environment, education, etc., plus disciplinary treatment by legal and social penalties, would suffice."

While it should in fairness be said that neither of the two divergent theories has been tried out completely enough or over a long enough period to be either proved or disproved, there is sufficient evidence at hand to make it extremely doubtful whether either represents the entire truth. "Both are probably partly true; but whether true or not, the remedies implied are so drastic and all-inclusive that there are practical bars to their application which, for the present at least, make them virtually impossible."

It becomes of importance, therefore, to approach the problem from another point of view which will recognize whatever is valid in both sets of theories, but at the same time will include other considerations not covered by either and which—more important still—may suggest methods of diagnosis and treatment that are practicable at the present time, even with our very limited knowledge of the fundamental causes of criminality.

The factors that enter into behavior are so complex and so numerous that it is impossible either to conclude that two cases are identical or to predict accurately the behavior of any given individual under given circumstances. Neither the individual nor the circumstances are completely knowable. "Since we are dealing, therefore, with unknown entities and quantities, we must confine ourselves to relationships. Briefly, this means that we may be able to observe and evaluate a reaction, although we may be in ignorance of some of the elements entering into it. In biological science such studies of reactions between unknown reagents, especially in the case of so-called equilibrium reactions, are well known. We might, therefore, take from biology some of the general principles pertinent to our own inquiry."

One of the rules of biology applicable here is that "a healthy organism is able to maintain equilibrium with the environment provided the variations of the environment do not exceed the outside limits of the organism's ability to adjust". Any breakdown of adjustment, therefore, indicates either that the organism is weak or diseased or that the environment calls for a degree of adjustment beyond the normal. Since the environment in our modern civilization is relatively stable, the presumption is that behavior disorder is due to the inadequacies of the individual rather than to the exigencies of the environment.

A second principle that has a bearing upon the problem of conduct disorders is that the more unhealthy the organism, the lower the threshold at which disequilibrium sets in. Even normal variations of environment may prove too much for an organism whose capacity to adjust is subnormal. And here again the fact that many other individuals are living successfully under the same conditions strengthens the conclusion that discrepancies in behavior are due to individual inadequacies.

Society in general and the family in particular are devices for reducing the amplitude of environmental variations. "The whole responsibility of parents to their children is for this; the parents are actually concerned with cutting down the amplitude of the environmental changes, both physical and social, to a point where the child, in spite of its feebleness, can adjust."

The margin of safety provided by nature is in most cases such that the individual can meet the demands of ordinary, everyday life. Disturbances of behavior serious enough to be conspicuous are, after all, comparatively rare. When they do occur, the question to be investigated is not so much whether there is any specific pathology which must inevitably have led to the particular act under consideration, but rather why the margin of safety was not sufficient in this case.

In certain groups of cases, to be sure, the condition of the disordered individual is so obviously pathological that we do not need to look further for the cause of the disorder; that is, the organism is so patently unhealthy that we expect its threshold of adjustment to be low. Thus both the general public and the law recognize that certain pathological alterations of mental function may produce behavior so dangerous as to require the enforcement of strict measures of restraint. Such conditions fall into two general categories—mental deficiency and insanity.

"The first, mental deficiency, is a fairly recent classification made possible by the advances of psychology and of psychological medicine during the past generation. The other, that of insanity, has been

recognized since antiquity. In uncomplicated cases little difficulty is experienced in arriving at a legal decision. When, however, the circumstances are such as to cloud the issue with extraneous material, which is likely to occur in any seriously contested case, the inadequacy of scientific criteria and the conflict of divergent professional views often result in complete confusion. In a few states, as well as in England, this difficulty has been met in criminal cases by clearly separating the concept of guilt or innocence of the accused, on the one hand, from the question of his sanity on the other. When this procedure is available, it is possible for the jury to bring in a verdict of 'guilty and insane' or of 'not guilty and insane', or the reverse.

"The confusion between medical and legal terminology is another cause of difficulty in applying psychiatric methods to criminal cases. The term 'insane' as used at present in this country is a legal one and should be confined to legal usage. But it frequently happens that the medical expert in a criminal trial where the question of sanity is raised interprets the term 'insanity' as synonymous with 'psychosis'—that is, with mental disease, or still more with pathology in general. According to the usual legal definition, however, the distinction lies not in whether the defendant is suffering from a diagnosticable malady, but in whether there is sufficient evidence to prove that he is incapable of understanding the nature of his acts or of distinguishing between the moral values of right and wrong in regard to them. This criterion is one which, while apparently simple and sensible, is so metaphysical in its implications that a clever witness may arrive at any conclusion he pleases without technically violating his oath."

In cases where the pathological condition is not so extreme, the question why the margin of safety was insufficient is more difficult to answer. This applies to the whole group of border-line mental conditions which cannot properly be classed as mental deficiency or mental disease by either the legal or the psychiatric definition. "Here belong not only the severer forms of psychoneuroses, of hysteria, or neurasthenia, but that protean collection of human grotesques classified by the psychiatrists as 'psychopathic personality' or 'constitutional psychopathic inferior' or similar terms. Here are found many of the social problems which vex the police, the bench, and the private welfare organizations of the community. The vagrant, the hobo, the drunkard, the sadist, the profligate and the card-sharper, the confidence man and the prostitute, the drug addict and the pervert are all included in this group.

"The test of sanity is of no avail. Their difficulties are not due to disturbances of consciousness or of powers of observation. They realize only too well the implications of their various acts. Their

trouble is that they are impelled toward their dangerous behavior by a desire or passion against which they struggle in vain. As by weighting the safety valve unduly the pressure may be kept in for a time only to explode the more disastrously when the internal force finally becomes too great any longer to be restrained, so the danger of their behavior is only increased by the attempts at repression on the part of the law. The difficulties of the conditions under which the psychiatrist now works, referred to above, become even more hampering in dealing with these cases, the fact of whose pathology has not yet been accepted by the consciousness of the public as has that of the feeble-minded and the insane. . . .

"Admitting all the present inadequacies of psychiatric knowledge, it is true, nevertheless, that the chief barriers to securing the benefit of such knowledge as we do possess are presented by the inelasticity of the criminal law.

"The situation, as it appears to many, is very unfavorable to the psychiatric expert. He is brought in to examine, often under impossible conditions, a criminal accused of a serious crime; the legal defenses are thrown round the subject, who need not 'testify against himself', who may by admission or commission mislead the specialist, whether the latter is acting for the prosecution or for the defense. The psychiatrist finds himself in a situation where, in violation of all his professional principles, he must be partisan. He must take sides, furthermore, not in support of his scientific opinion, but in a battle of wits based on rules of procedure that have little to do with the scientific evidence upon which alone he is qualified to base a judgment. The psychiatrist officially has no concern with law, not even with justice; that he must leave to the legal profession. What he must confine himself to is scientific fact and its evaluation. But under our criminal law this is often made almost impossible. It is no wonder that he is coming to be regarded with suspicion when he makes his appearance in court. When testifying for the prosecution, he is considered to be a tool of the officials; when for the defense, he is said to be venal. In either case he is believed to be actuated by motives of gain alone and willing to sell his opinion to the highest bidder. Aside from the strange fact that precisely the same conduct on the part of the attorney is not subject to such insulting attack, it is obvious that science does not flourish when partisan motives are dominant.

"A final difficulty in applying our present psychiatric knowledge lies in the peculiar sentimentality of the criminal law. The psychiatrist recognizes many early signs of disequilibrium in the individual which make him more or less of a menace to the community, but under the law he is powerless to deal with this potential danger

unless the individual commits some crime. If the crime is a petty one, the law says, 'This is excusable, let us try leniency.' In other words, let us wait until some real disaster occurs before we are so harsh as to accuse this person of not being a fully responsible citizen. The psychiatrist, on the other hand, says this is not a question of an accusation, but a question of facing facts. Here is a person of limited responsibility who, if left to himself, is likely to blunder into criminal habits, but who, if given no more responsibility than he is able to carry, under the direction of some one more reliable, will become a reasonably self-supporting, law-abiding citizen. If we wait until his behavior becomes really serious, he will have acquired tastes and habits which will make it extremely improbable that he will subordinate himself to any authority whatsoever except his own will and pleasure.

"From the practical standpoint, all this implies the need of frankly recognizing in the law the responsibility for identifying and caring for these deviates while they are still young enough, in the first place, to accept the necessary control or guardianship, and, in the second place, while there is still hope that by proper medical care and by special education and by the necessary tempering of their own environments, something can still be accomplished in the direction of building up in them an ability to adjust.

"The law now recognizes such responsibility for the care of the insane. It recognizes a certain somewhat distorted responsibility (since its only treatment is punishment) for the criminal. It recognizes such a responsibility for the mentally defective child. Eventually it must recognize this for these other deviates during their childhood years before they have become offenders. Such a recognition of responsibility implies the delegation of the necessary authority to properly qualified persons to examine, diagnose, and treat these patients. This same sort of authority physicians now have in the case of the insane. Coincident with this should go at least a minimum of training in the field of psychopathology as a requirement for the practice of law, since the delegation of this authority and the safeguarding of the rights of these children reposes ultimately in courts."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PSYCHOSES IN PRISON. By Walter B. Martin, M.D. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 18:404-15, November, 1927.

This is a study of 103 mental cases observed by the author at the Illinois State Penitentiary in Joliet during the last three years. The study was concerned with the question whether the prison environment plays a definite part in the development of certain psychoses, and if

so, what particular prison experiences are especially likely to have a deleterious effect upon the mental health of prisoners.

The 103 cases were unselected except that they included only those whose behavior had made it necessary to isolate them from the general group at least once, for however short a period. This selection was made because the isolated cases offered more data for study, and because their psychoses were sufficiently developed to be accurately described and classified.

Seventy-eight of the group were white, the other 25 Negro. Eighty per cent of the white men were native born and 20 per cent foreign born, a percentage of foreign born about 5 per cent higher than is usual in the general prison population. With one exception the Negroes were native born.

A distribution of the cases according to crime corresponded in general with a similar distribution of the total prison population except for the fact that the percentage of sex crimes was 15.5 in the study group as compared with 8.2 in the total population, and the percentage of murders 29.1 as compared with 22.6 in the total population.

An investigation of the previous criminal records of the 103 cases showed that 27, or 26.2 per cent, had previous penitentiary records; that 13, or 12.6 per cent, had reformatory records; and that 21, or 20.4 per cent, had served time in jails or workhouses. Thus 61, or 59 per cent, of the study group had previous criminal records, an incidence 7.6 per cent higher than that of the general population.

As to intelligence, 40.9 per cent of the study group were found to be mentally defective. This compares with a percentage of 20.9 found in a study of 4,000 inmates. At the other end of the scale there were only 6.8 per cent of superior intelligence in the study group as compared with 11.9 per cent in the larger group.

In the first general survey of the cases, it was found that they fell readily into two groups—those who were psychotic before or upon admission and those whose psychoses developed after admission. Twenty-eight of the cases were in the first group, the other 75 in the second.

There was nothing unusual about the psychoses of the first group, which were as follows: cerebro-spinal syphilis, 6 cases; epilepsy, 8 cases; dementia praecox, 7 cases; senile dementia, 2 cases; alcoholic deterioration, 3 cases; and drug addiction with psychoses, 2 cases. The prison environment apparently had but little effect upon these cases, with the exception of the fact that the paretics showed a tendency to rapid deterioration, because of the lack of proper treatment. One of the alcoholic cases committed suicide, and another of the alco-

holics and one of the epileptics attempted suicide during the first weeks of their imprisonment. The epileptics showed a tendency to sudden outbursts of violence, and one of them stabbed another prisoner to death in an argument over a newspaper. The praecox cases were sometimes in difficulty because of their insistence upon medical treatment for ailments which the prison physician recognized as somatic delusions. The drug addicts suffered from hallucinatory experiences and depression as a result of abstinence.

Ten of the 75 cases in the second group—those whose psychoses developed after admission—also showed common forms of psychoses, such as might very well have developed in the same individuals outside of prison. Seven of them were cases of cerebro-spinal syphilis and three of senile dementia. These were all men who had been inmates of the prison for two to twelve years before the onset of the disorder. Their psychoses were absolutely without prison coloring or recognizable influence.

The remaining 65 cases are those with which the study is especially concerned. These again the author subdivides into two groups: the acute episodic psychoses (22 cases) and the chronic degenerative psychoses (43 cases).

The acute episodic psychoses include 6 cases of psychoses that developed in the course of or following somatic disease. Two developed in the late stages of pulmonary tuberculosis, two in association with goiter and hyperthyroidism, and one after encephalitis, and one was an acute schizophrenic episode following measles. They were included because each showed definitely the influence of the prison environment. "The tuberculars suddenly expressed persecutory delusions, refused medication because they feared poisoning, concealed themselves under their beds, and otherwise expressed fear of bodily harm coming from their surroundings. They died from their disease. The goiter cases each voluntarily sought refuge in solitary confinement, expressing fear of bodily harm. One, because he swallowed frequently to relieve pressure in his throat, said he was being mistaken for a sexual pervert and upon this basis built up an elaborate paranoid delusional structure. The other was refused emergency medical treatment for an acute aphonia and later committed to the solitary for refusing to work. There he attempted suicide by hanging. He had been recently returned to prison as a parole violator and was facing a long sentence. The post-encephalitic has exhibited great emotional instability for several years. He has been in frequent difficulty for violation of prison rules. Recently he selected one keeper, whom he believed to be responsible for his many troubles, and attacked him with a knife. In observation he produced an elaborate delusional

formation, but soon recovered from the acute episode and is again at work.

"The schizophrenic became suddenly and acutely disturbed in the hospital. He first expressed fear that an inmate attendant was planning a sexual assault upon him. Later he developed the idea that hydrotherapeutic treatment and restraint which were used to combat acute excitement were part of an ordeal through which he was being put as a test of his qualifications for a position of trust and responsibility in this prison. He was violent, obscene, abusive in his language, destructive, and presented a characteristic picture of a catatonic-praecox episode. He recovered within a month, with little deterioration, and has shown no recurrence of the disorder."

The other 16 included in the group of acute episodic psychoses were so classified for the following reasons: (1) they developed suddenly; (2) they usually occurred soon after admission; (3) they ran an acute course; (4) they manifested a great variety of psychotic symptoms; and (5) they showed a high percentage of recoveries.

"Seven, or nearly half, of these 16 cases, were definitely feeble-minded, and in the case of four more it was possible to demonstrate a defective basis in heredity. "Five developed depressions and anxiety. Two of these, who were mentally defective, expressed the fear that imprisonment was only the first step toward execution, although their crimes were not serious. One attempted suicide while in the depression. Two other cases conceived the idea of immediate deliverance and became very vindictive towards officers whom they believed were falsely holding them. One developed a psychogenic mutism and for a year has shown apprehension and fear at the approach of officers to his cell.

"There was one instance of the mechanism described by Hans Gross,¹ in which criminals, apprehended, hurl themselves to the ground, declare vehemently their unworthiness to live, and then voluntarily plead guilty to every crime of which they are accused. This man entered the penitentiary at fifty-one years of age, to serve a sentence of seventy-five years for rape. He had confessed to about one hundred crimes, including a murder for which another man was already serving time.

"When admitted to the prison, he was silent, but not sullen. He begged to be left to suffer alone and inflicted unnecessary punishment upon himself. He refused to work in the quarry and was punished by a long stay in solitary confinement. His silent and apparently willing acceptance of his punishment baffled officers and he was placed in the 'idle room'. The second day there he voluntarily returned to

¹ In *Criminal Psychology*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1915.

solitary and requested further punishment. He refused to see friends from the outside and to one who wrote him he replied as follows:

To Friend and Everyone:

I could have been great among free men, but failed. Please let me be least among prisoners and mourn in silence the loss of those golden opportunities to do good and be great, which knocked not once, but frequently at my door.

"After nearly a year of this behavior he accepted a job sweeping the walks in the prison yard and has been in no more trouble.

"An acute depression which ended in suicide occurred in a murderer who had escaped capital punishment for two slayings. Following his trial, he involved his attorney in conspiracy charges. Soon after admission to the penitentiary, he became acutely depressed. He made two confessions, detailing his crimes and admitting his sole responsibility." When seen by the author, his depression was typical of the manic-depressive cycle, the only case in which such a diagnosis was made. "He asked to be returned and hanged and declared if he was not hanged, the penalty should never be invoked again in Illinois. He occasionally expressed the fear that he would be killed by other inmates because of his treatment of his attorney, who was a popular defender of criminals. He attempted suicide by hanging in a partially completed cell house, but fell and was painfully bruised. He successfully hanged himself three nights later in a cell in the hospital.

"The remaining cases in the acute group were of a less striking character."

The group of chronic deteriorating psychoses was made up of cases that (1) developed slowly; (2) occurred after extended prison residence; (3) ran a chronic course; (4) displayed a stereotyped symptomatology; and (5) showed some remissions, but few recoveries.

Taken as a whole, the cases in this group did not differ significantly from the others in race, nativity, or type of crime. But 75 per cent of them were recidivists as compared with 59 per cent in the whole group of psychotic cases; also the percentage of mental defect was very low.

Investigation of the histories of these men prior to the development of their psychoses revealed the fact that about one-third had suffered bullet wounds or other serious physical injuries, and about one-fifth more had had serious illnesses, such as typhoid, pneumonia, malaria, and smallpox. The percentage of syphilitic cases was slightly lower than in the general prison population.

"Within the prison these men have been in repeated conflict with prison discipline. Some made four and five trips to solitary during a single year and several have had a dozen or more punishments in

the course of their imprisonment. Only one, a murderer who committed suicide, was without any punishment, prior to the difficulty which brought about his mental collapse. The difficulty with prison discipline, we believe, is a symptom of the mental disorder and not one of its causes.

"Our experience with men coming out of solitary leads us to believe that this form of punishment is an aggravating factor in the development of the characteristic paranoid trend which these men show. It leads to introspection, autistic daydreaming, and the intellectual deterioration which usually accompanies these forms of mental activity. A study of the effect of solitary confinement upon prisoners is under way.

"Several of the cases came to our attention through their frequent appearance upon the daily sick line in the prison hospital. Somatic complaints and mental states of anxiety over their physical condition are, as everywhere, frequently an early sign of serious mental deterioration, among prisoners.

"Occasionally chronic cases develop with apparent suddenness. Some are reported for neglecting their work or refusing to work at all. Unintelligent handling at such times sometimes precipitates an assault upon the officer and an acute maniacal outburst. Later scrutiny of this episode, however, reveals that it is the expression of long repressed feelings of inferiority, ideas of reference and persecution.

"Not infrequently cases came to light first because of an assault, sometimes fatal in its outcome, made by one inmate upon another. This is particularly true where men are working closely confined in a shop.

"When isolated for observation, these cases of chronic degenerative psychoses show the following general symptoms: irritability, acute fluctuations of mood, suggestibility, great restlessness accompanied by sleeplessness, uncritical judgment and defective reasoning toward the whole prison situation, and very characteristic hallucinations and delusions of a paranoid character. In addition, there are the somatic symptoms of headache, gastric disorder, palpitation of the heart, acute anxiety over physical states and the possible effect of isolation and confinement necessary for observation. Later they show marked mental and physical fatigability. Eventually they show some intellectual deterioration as demonstrated by comparative tests made on sample cases.

"Behavior resulting from hallucinatory experiences is sometimes the first thing observed by keepers. One of our cases seized a broom to defend himself against an officer he believed he heard coming upon the gallery to kill him. Another hid under his cot and told of seeing his

day keeper, armed with a gun and a flash light, stealthily creeping upon him after midnight. Hallucinations, however, often do not occur until after isolation.

"Hallucinations and delusions are uniformly of a paranoid and persecutory nature. In the periods of acute excitement which occur in most of our cases at some time in their course, the prisoners curse and rail at their persecutors, using the vilest epithets. Again, after such futile abuses, several have inflicted physical injury upon themselves even to the point of making abortive attempts at suicide. One prisoner, with an expensive wooden leg, broke it to bits in a solitary cell, broke a pane of glass from a window and slashed his wrists and throat superficially, and then called for aid. At another time he rammed his head against a metal partition with great force, causing discoloration over his whole head and face. He is a recidivist who escaped the Honor Farm, served a term in Columbus, Ohio, and recently returned to serve a long sentence. He has a long juvenile record, but claims to come of good family."

In the effort to find out what factors in prison life might have caused or influenced these chronic psychoses, a study was made of the delusional structure of the individual cases as expressive of the content of thought. Delusions were found to revolve about (1) alleged persecution by prison officials and keepers in the matter of work assignments or punishments (16 cases); (2) alleged persecution or plotting by other inmates to cause punishment or loss of position (11 cases); (3) homosexual and other sex experiences (11 cases); and (4) alleged discrimination against the inmate by the parole board in determining his sentence or returning him to prison as a parole violator (5 cases). In general the delusional trends manifested indicate that long sentences, close restraint, continual observation, and solitary punishment are exciting factors in a number of cases, while homosexual practices and other perversions are prominent factors in another relatively large group of cases.

Like other investigators, the author found that the praecox syndrome was the most frequent end result of these prison psychoses. That diagnosis was made in 36 of the 65 cases. Fifteen cases were diagnosed as psychoses in mental defectives, five as somatopsychoses and two as senile psychoses, and one each as manic-depressive psychosis and encephalopsychosis. Five had not been diagnosed at the time the paper was written.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF OUR CONDUCT. By William E. Ritter, with the collaboration of Edna Watson Bailey. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1927. 339 p.

The aim of this volume is best stated in the author's own words. In the introductory chapter, speaking of animal and human minds, he says (page 10), "Great progress has recently been made in the comparative study of these two orders of minds, each order having been made to contribute much to an interpretation of the other; but no such pronounced success has attended these studies in the direction of closing the gap between the minds of brute animals and the minds of men as has attended the comparative morphological and physiological studies. In consequence of this, although men are well aware of their supremacy over all other living creatures, we do not yet possess a thoroughly critical presentation of exactly in what this supremacy consists. Such presentation this book will, I trust, go far toward furnishing."

While the author's attitude is scientific, he maintains throughout a sympathetic rapport with his data. In his opening paragraph, he says (page 3): "To suppose that in order to deal adequately with nature all emotion must be suppressed appears to presuppose the superior validity of a partial response to nature as compared with the fullest response of which human beings are capable. This fallacious view concerning the influence of emotion on reason in the study of nature probably has arisen through failure to distinguish between the suppression of emotion and guidance of it." It is this attitude that makes the book both interesting and instructive.

He makes it clear that he views man as an integral part of nature in general, not as a distinct and supernatural entity; hence: "The recognition of man as a part of nature makes it necessary to adopt a different attitude toward his knowledge-getting processes. By such recognition these processes are brought down from the realm of the supernatural into the everyday world of phenomena that can be known" (page 6)—exactly the attitude of the modern psychiatrist toward human conduct in general. He also lays stress on the phenomenon of integration without naming it: "Recognizing that searching and potent understanding of mind is impossible apart from such understanding of the body, I have attempted to describe the working of mind-and-body in human beings and in other living things," and so forth. (Page 8.)

Having established his basis of procedure, he goes on to discuss the activities generally considered as adaptive, laying particular emphasis on the comparative quality of activity, both in men and animals. On page 14 he has, "This question is the essence of the problem of adaptation as applied to the activities of animals. The larger part of all that has been written about adaptation has referred to the structure of organisms only. . . . As a matter of actual observation, organic activity is far and away more adaptive than is organic structure. . . . The variety of acts that every normal human hand performs may be taken as representing the highest exemplification of the general principle that one and the same structure may be used by its possessor in more than one way." He takes issue with those biologists who hold that adaptation is a useless conception for the description and interpretation of vital activity. He then defines adaptation (page 16): "The final meaning of adaptation is the continuance of individual life to its wanted end. The final meaning of maladaptation is the discontinuance of individual life before its wanted end. Life-or-death for the individual is the final criterion of adaptation." It is the ability of living beings to develop despite adversity.

Wishing to establish the kinship of humans and brutes in mentality as well as in bodily structure, he recognizes the utility of the psycho-biological approach. To this end he devotes two chapters to a discussion of the theory of evolution. His principal conclusions will suffice to illustrate his treatment of this subject: "So far as the evolution or development of a great variety of kinds of organisms is concerned, common sense not only accepts it in knowledge and faith, but goes much further than that. It actually lives by it, thus applying to it the supreme test of all knowledge in faith and in conduct." (Page 20.) He refers here to the production of new kinds in agriculture, horticulture, floriculture, and animal husbandry. Discussing the principle of identity in the evolutionary theory, he says (page 21), "Neither the reality of any object nor the certainty of our knowledge about it depend upon what we know or do not know about the origin of that object." And again (page 22), "According to the principle of identity, a man is a man, regardless not merely of any hypothesis or doctrine which may be held concerning his origin, but regardless of his actual origin." He considers the problem of naming a developing thing and reaches the conclusion: "Proper names of individuals as ordinarily used are really general names, the scope of which is over the series of developmental stages in time as contrasted with general names the scope of which is over groups of individuals; that is, in space." So far as any name can be applied to an individual organism,

especially to a developing organism, it must be general or "it would be useless as a guide to action". (Pages 27 and 28.)

In summing up the factual evidence of evolution, he decides (page 31), "The factual and logical conditions involved in the problem of the origin of the species man are such as to make the probable truth of the evolutionary origin as much as we shall ever be able to attain. We are able to conclude that the evolutionary origin of the species is more probably true than is its origin by any other mode that has been suggested." He devotes a short section to a discussion of the principle of resemblance and gives it a primary rôle in the knowledge of any developmental series.

He next discusses the evidence of belief in man's origin from animals as shown by the fact that men and monkeys are confused in the minds of certain races; also the evidences implied by totemism, in the way of resemblance between men and animals. It would seem he strains a point here. While resemblance is undoubtedly a factor in determining a totemistic object, it would not appear to be the vital factor. "Out of a total of 202 such objects . . . 164 are animals, 22 are plants, and 16 are inanimate things." (Page 39.) The principle of resemblance must fail to explain the 22 plants and 16 inanimate things, hence some much broader principle is involved. He also states (page 39), "The evidences are innumerable that animals have been among the most interesting things to most people, whether hunters or not. This interest has been due largely to the recognition of resemblance of the animals to men." This conclusion is open to serious question, and the author adduces very little fact to support it. On page 40, quoting Goldenweiser, he instances such expressions as "the eagle eye", "the leonine heart", and the like, to suggest a similar conclusion of resemblance between men and animals, but omits any reference to "the clinging vine", "the sturdy oak", "the modest violet", and so forth. This is by far the weakest evidence in the book, not because it does not support the author's opinions to some extent, but because he has needlessly leaned too heavily upon it.

He gives considerable space to the paleontological evidence of evolution and discusses the value and the limitations of such evidence. He thinks that evolutionists in general have been too positive and conclusive as to the certainty of evolution in the light of such evidence. He holds that it only increases the probability that the theory is true without making it certain. He agrees with Gregory that man's most probable ancestor is represented by the Upper Miocene genera, *Sivapithecus* and *Dryopithecus*. He concludes this section with the statement (page 63): "The supreme desideratum for man in this era is that he should understand the evolution theory, to the end

not merely of believing it, but of living it. For man to live evolution means that so long as he is truly living he must be truly developing." While this is true to a degree, one would have expected a different conclusion from the author's presentation. One would have expected him to emphasize the fact that all theories are our tools and not our masters and are to be used when needed and laid aside as readily as any other tool.

The next ten chapters are devoted to a consideration of successful and maladaptive activity in some of the orders below man. The author calls attention to the equivocal character of experimental findings in this field, due to the change from a natural to an artificial situation. "Our central requirement in the criterion of success will be the attainment of welfare—welfare of the individual creature performing the act, and welfare of the group of which the individual is a member. The mere bringing to a successful conclusion of a specific set of activities . . . does not constitute success, as we shall use the term. The final test of successful animal action is not found in any material product or immediate accomplishment, but in the administration of that action to the life of the animal, individual, or group." (Page 77.) Using this standard, he cites examples of successful activity at three levels: At the level of reflex action, he instances such activities as those of the coelenterates and molluscs in which this action is of prime importance. At the level of instinctive activity, he cites the trap-door spider at nest building (the description is excellent), bees and wasps at similar tasks, grunion fish at mating, and the crowing of a young rooster. Intelligent action of a low type he illustrates by a cat waiting for a mouse, and high-type intelligent activity, by Pasteur's work on the diseases of silkworms. His criterion of intelligent activity is as follows (page 88): "Whenever an organism receives a stimulus and has an impulse to act, but withholds the act pending a decision as to whether the act would be likely to procure the welfare of the organism, and finally acts according to the decision reached, we shall call such action intelligent."

A systematic compilation of several examples of successful animal activity follows. These are taken from ants, bears, beavers, and the primates. From them he draws the conclusion that individual personality is a primary factor in group success.

Chapters 7 to 14 give examples of maladaptive activity under four categories:

1. Those that result in waste of time and energy.
2. Those that result in waste of useful materials.
3. Those that result in injury to kind.
4. Those that result in injury to self.

The examples are taken mostly from insects, birds, mammals, monkeys, and apes, but occasionally one of the other orders is used. The compilation of this material must have been a great task and the author has handled it very well. Every paragraph here is interesting and entertaining.

Maladaptive activity among low-cultured human beings is next discussed. Food taking among savages, savage festivals, generally misdirected activities, and maladaptive activities directed toward the securing of food furnish the examples. This is followed by a very interesting section in which the activity of savages is compared with brute activity. The author states (page 270), "In every one of the life-or-death activities . . . all men are on common ground with all animals. For uncultured men, at least, all are on common ground with animals in the tendency to excessiveness of action and in the likelihood of misdirectedness of action. The whole difference, great as it is, between the activities of men of low culture and of animals seems to resolve itself into the greater skill with which men work toward their welfare; the greater ability of men in restraining themselves from going too far in the right direction; or, what is nearly the same thing, their greater ability to avoid going in the wrong direction." The examples he has cited before are justifiable grounds for this conclusion.

Under maladaptive activities among high-cultured human beings, he cites examples under each one of the four categories used for animals. Under self-injury, he has placed dueling and war and justifies this classification as follows (page 280): "If one is himself killed while deliberately taking his chance of killing another, his act is surely a failure." "The maladaptivity of his performance is increased as compared with self-injury-producing activities among brute animals." He follows with a discussion of maladaptive activity as corrected by science, and shows how science is able in certain instances to help us avoid activities of a positively injurious nature. As to reproductive and sexual phenomena in the human species, he cites overpopulation, dangers to the mother in child-bearing, dangers arising from the relations of offspring to parents, and misdirected sexual activity, as examples of maladaptive activity.

In the concluding chapter, the author attempts to bring to light those characteristics of physical structure which enable man to be the most actively adaptive of all living beings. He lays great emphasis upon the importance of the combination of human heads and human hands. He would assign the feet and legs to an inferior rôle. "Special emphasis must be put on man's hands and arms as contrasted with his feet and legs because of the preëminent part taken

by the former in making tools and machines." (Page 314.) Whether this is a justifiable distinction from the standpoint of integration would seem doubtful. In discussing the evolutionary aspect of this fact—i.e., the great advantage of hands—he states that to find a prototype of the human hand below the primates, we have to descend the zoölogical scale to the amphibians. He calls attention to tree frogs as climbers and to similar activities of other amphibians. He suggests indirectly that the departure of primates and man from the other mammals probably began at this stage of evolution.

The book is unquestionably a move in the right direction, although it is incomplete. The author himself recognizes this, and it is to be expected that the companion book he mentions will fill many of the gaps. His point of view is one that must be invaluable to the psychiatrist or, indeed, to any practical student of human behavior. We will move much faster toward an understanding of human problems as we gain a more thorough knowledge of animal behavior in general. The book is essentially readable. The style is logical and concise, and the treatment is on the whole fair and accurate.

A fairly adequate bibliography is included in the volume.

LAWRENCE F. WOOLLEY.

Colorado Psychopathic Hospital.

CHARACTER AND THE CONDUCT OF LIFE. By William McDougall.
New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927. 390 p.

To a long list of notable volumes, Professor McDougall has added an "aid to men and women in acquiring a little more rapidly the wisdom that comes only through experience and through reflection upon human life". To those familiar with his preceding works, there is little of new theory in this; rather is the book an attempt at applying those more academic considerations to the practical problems of everyday life.

McDougall has often deplored the chasm that separates the academic psychologist from the clinician. This he hopes to bridge. The two points of view are admirably presented in the book. They are united in one man—a man so broad in sympathy as to give to knowledge the glow of wisdom and to "matters of the heart" the order and seriation of one long schooled in precise and clear thinking—but they are still unlinked.

Character and the Conduct of Life is throughout a robust, concise, challenging document. As in McDougall's other books, there is a clarity of statement and an invigorating directness of theory that can leave no one lukewarm. The book is distinctly personal—the application of the author's theories to the problem of living. As

such, no one could agree with everything in it. Yet we recommend it most seriously to every parent and guide of childhood, knowing that where the reader most violently disagrees, the mode of presentation will force upon him an ordering and healthy justification of his own views.

The book is written to inspire self-study and self-evaluation of a healthy sort. Where the blindness of self-defense has hidden from the reader the great truths of the novelists, this method, the author hopes, will succeed. Commending the book to all, I can, confessedly, envisage few who will follow its teachings. McDougall is too virile, too straightforward—demands too great a sacrifice. Happiness, true greatness, lies in the integration of all mental phenomena about a great ideal. Will the (so-prevalent) disciple of sheer force, the go-getter, listen? Can he?

The second lesson of the book is that we can influence children only by example—by “contagion”; words will not turn the trick. In the face of a widespread, maybe universal, desire to turn from the thorny path of example to the broad avenue of some mystic alchemy of the child’s personality, how far will this teaching penetrate? Be it said, in sorrow, that much of modern psychiatry abets parents in their accustomed choice of means.

A more detailed review demands the reviewer’s personal reactions. One seldom reads a book so inspiring of assent or vigorous denial. There are in all twenty-one chapters—the first thirteen presenting a rather formal analysis of the personality; the others, a practical and healthy series of talks to those of varying ages.

This is a mechanistic age; there is no time or patience for introspection; we know little of ourselves. This situation is particularly fraught with danger just now because we have so definitely thrown overboard the support and stability of tradition. Thus this book seeks (as the sophists did) to inspire self-study and self-evaluation.

McDougall starts with the “instincts” and restates his well-known theories as to the “inborn tendencies”. He stresses the importance of the emotional as compared with the intellectual life. We live by what we feel, not by what we know.

Each of our native tendencies has its part to play; there are no “base tendencies”. Each has its strength, its relation to the other tendencies. There is but one tendency that is always “good”, no matter in what strength it appears—the tendency of tenderness. This seems to us the pitfall of all great thinkers—that relations are ever more arrayed about one integrating element until it in itself becomes so engrossing that relationship ceases to exist. *One cause, one tendency, one principle*—paradoxically enough, this establishment of

intrinsic worth, this disappearance of relationship, arises only from the most acute and profound synthesis of relationships.

Certain tendencies are overweaning and very practical modes of lessening their import are offered. Fear should not be used—or rather it is now employed far too much in the rearing of children. Another means, little used, is commended—laughter. Here we violently disagree. Laughter, yes, in the hands of the wise—but they are so few! The spirit cowed by fear may be salvaged—never that broken by laughter. After all, there is a frankness about the use of fear which can be fought. Laughter is too near the sneer. In the hands of those who know, it is the easiest, the softest, the most powerful of weapons. Otherwise, it is devastating.

Temperament is a chemical affair, controlled in some way by the inherited constitution of the body, perhaps through the glands of internal secretion. Introvert or extrovert—it is predetermined, and once one has self-determined which, by that one must live. Here Professor McDougall passes over the intriguing subject of social modification of temperament. Civilization, for instance, with its inevitable demand for vicarious expression of emotional needs, seems a tremendously introverting force. Perhaps, we feel, civilizations fall on the basis of an increasing decay—this same growing symbolization.

The chapter on character formation is the best of the book—the soundest, the most practical, the most invigorating. Characteristics (all previously discussed) must be integrated about an ideal into character. An ideal should include an ambition, but an ambition alone is dangerous. It is the master sentiment, self-respect, that makes possible—and demands—this integration.

Habit training should never include fear; the matter is discussed fully and simply. Principles of conduct are intellectual. Valuable guideposts, they have no motive power.

Tastes and interests are acquired only through the things we enjoy; they cannot be forced upon the child. "Love of nature" cannot be classified in an academic psychology; it is perhaps our best proof of the existence of an hereditary memory.

McDougall is friendly to the teachings of Freud without accepting sex as all-pervading or symbolization as all-explaining. Sublimation and compensation are discussed in this light.

Happiness arises only from complete integration of the character, and all unhappiness is due to conflict—that is, the warring of the incompletely integrated tendencies. The means of happiness are from without, but happiness can arise only from the personality itself. How rapidly most of our problems would disappear were this truth and its implications widely accepted!

Conduct is but a symptom of character or purpose and is understood only if we know its motive forces. There are many forms of incompletely formed character, chief of which are those in which self-regard has not been integrated into character—vanity.

The qualities are positive (greed, malice, patience) or negative (sloth, levity, fickleness). "Negative moral sentiments are more easily acquired and apt to be stronger and of more influence than the positive; yet, at the same time, they are less valuable constituents of character."

The chapter, *Some Common Faults*, offers practical help in the correction of those faults that have accompanied us to adulthood. As a fair share of our problems appear only after their unhealthy roots are full grown, this simple, bold, sincere discussion is very much to the point. The subdivisions deal with forms of egotism and faults allied to egotism, forms of dependence, insincerity, and triviality—all good sense and of practical value.

The next eight chapters find the academician warmed by the glow of practical life transformed into the clinician arraying and ordering the clash of social forces.

In *Parents and Children* there is a refreshing evaluation of what is good for children in modern trends; a healthy appeal for the freedom of the child from the demands of parental emotional hunger; and an inspired catalogue of the Laws of Life—simplicity, sociability, admiration, and independence.

The discussion of religion and the child is practical as far as it goes. The author frankly states that he can go no further. As none of the rest of us has, this is no place for criticism. A difficult subject defying clean-cut decision, it needs just the fearless, straightforward discussion that McDougall's books show he can give it. Not that others would agree with him, but no one is better able to challenge and so to crystallize and clarify thought.

The remaining seven chapters seem hardly called for. They represent very practical, day-to-day aids in the solution of life's problems. McDougall seems for the moment to have forgotten his own dictum that conduct is but the symbol of character. For those of integrated character—nobility—life will order itself; as necessary to tell them how to live as to tell true lovers how to express their sentiments. To him who is without nobility, the careful direction of each day's task can give but false security in his clumsiness.

A simple, straightforward, compelling guide, to be commended without reserve to every parent and guardian. Commended, however, with misgivings—for who will follow its precepts? Who cares for the thorny truth that children can be taught only by example—not by words? The world seeks a formula; never before has it rested

its hopes more blindly upon a mystic alchemy. Why else are the modern psychiatric devices so avidly sought? A teacher who, with bold simplicity, dashes the hope of the philosopher's stone—will he have followers?

JAMES S. PLANT.

Juvenile Clinic, Essex County, New Jersey.

A TEXTBOOK OF PSYCHIATRY FOR STUDENTS AND PRACTITIONERS. By D. K. Henderson and R. D. Gillespie. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1927. 530 p.

This is not simply "another textbook". One turns the last page with the feeling that the authors have attained a definite achievement. They have prepared a textbook that seems to fulfil the needs of the student and that at the same time presents a well-balanced discussion of recent developments, which makes the book good reading for the psychiatrist and the general practitioner also.

Both authors are Scotchmen who served under Adolf Meyer in America. The biological point of view familiar to American psychiatrists prevails. Except for very minor details, the book, so far as its availability for American students is concerned, might have been written with them in mind.

The book begins with a short, but comprehensive, historical summary of the care and treatment of mental illness. There follow four introductory chapters, aside from the one on classification—namely, on aetiology, on method of examination, on symptomatology, and on general psychopathology. The chapter on aetiology covers forty-three pages and is a careful digest of the recent as well as of the proved data in this field. The chapter on examination methods is essentially that prepared for the New York State Hospital Commission by Dr. G. H. Kirby, together with some additions by the authors. Symptomatology forms a noteworthy chapter from the standpoint of the student. It follows the order of topics given in the chapter on method of examinations and defines in a helpful, non-technical way the terms used to characterize the possible manifestations under each topic. In the chapter on general psychopathology, the authors discuss "instinctive development", "environmental influences", mechanisms related to the foregoing, and "symptom formation". Here it seems to the reviewer that the authors are so brief that they will be understood only by the well-informed psychiatrist.

The grouping and order of the clinical types of disorder for description are, in general, those found advantageous by most teachers; namely, affective reaction types; the schizophrenic reaction types; paranoia and paranoid reaction types; organic reaction types;

epilepsy; mental defect; and the psychoneuroses. It is, after all, a small matter whether paranoia and paranoid states are grouped with the schizophrenic types. It is less palatable, if not objectionable, to find constitutional psychopathic states coördinated with "intellectual defect states" under the general caption of "mental defect".

The description and discussion of the clinical forms of disorder are not only excellent, but are abundantly illustrated by well-chosen case histories. In fact, this ample use of case histories, 84 in all, in intimate relation to the clinical descriptions, gives the book a distinctive and universal value. The conditions usually indicated as constitutional psychopathic states comprise a field of great importance to mental hygiene. It is a matter of regret that this topic is so briefly treated, as well as that it is so unfortunately grouped. What is stated, however, is excellently put. The psychoneuroses are admirably well treated. There is a short chapter on psychoses of the war and on occupational therapy. The book closes with a discussion of the legal aspects of mental disorder.

The book is written in an admirable, unofficial style. The easy directness of the text in making its way to the kernel of a difficult topic is often masterly. The whole make-up of the book in form and content easily place it among the very first of its kind in the English language.

G. S. AMSDEN.

Albany Hospital.

A TEXTBOOK OF PSYCHIATRY. By Arthur P. Noyes, M.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. 326 p.

NURSING MENTAL AND NERVOUS DISEASES. By Albert Coulson Buckley, M.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1927. 312 p.

These two books represent recent additions to textbooks on psychiatry for nurses that might also be considered for certain other groups, such as social workers, occupational therapists, and those who have to do with mental diseases who are not physicians. Buckley's book is more than a textbook on mental diseases; it includes diseases of the nervous system. The anatomy and physiology of the nervous system are discussed in considerable detail.

While the approach of both writers is essentially the biological approach, and while both books represent in a general way the present conception of mental disease largely accepted by psychiatrists in this country, it is noticeable that Noyes' book is colored and influenced by psychoanalytic doctrines, whereas Buckley tends to approach the problem of mental disease from the physical side. In a brief textbook for nurses, the writer must necessarily be dogmatic. He cannot dis-

cuss in detail various doctrines and, for the sake of clearness and brevity, he must assume an attitude of knowledge about certain matters which he would undoubtedly confess were far from settled. Both the books are open to this criticism, if it is to be called criticism. It is, of course, a necessary defect in any short book written as an introduction to a subject.

Noyes follows the biological views of Herrick and Child in explaining the development of the organism and the relation of mind to body. He accepts the recapitulation theory of mind as well as body. In discussing mental mechanisms and mental processes, he holds closely to orthodox psychiatry and outlines the views that one finds in Hart, Bleuler, and White. The classification of mental diseases that he gives is that of the American Psychiatric Association, but in the succeeding chapters he takes up the various diseases in a different order, which seems to have no advantage over the order given in the outline. The manic-depressive psychoses are formulated as representing "the reactions of the entire personality to difficult and painful problems and situations which have an ultimate origin in the unconscious", and less emphasis is placed on the personality than in schizophrenia. He accepts Kretschmer's view of the schizoid personality as the most important factor in the development of schizophrenia. He properly calls attention to the fact that many of the milder cases of depression are improperly called neurasthenia or nervousness.

In general, his discussion of the treatment of the manic-depressive group is very good. There are two points to which the reviewer would take slight exception. It is stated that isolation is a measure "no longer prescribed by a physician who treats his patients intelligently". Although it is agreed that isolation is a method of treatment to be avoided wherever possible, the reviewer can hardly conceive of a hospital that never uses isolation and feels that there are times when it is not only necessary, but desirable. In the treatment of depression, it is also stated that "efforts to stimulate the patient's activity in occupational therapy before he shows improvement is not good treatment". Here, again, it is felt that such a statement should be qualified. It may be found that the stimulation of occupational therapy will bring about a decided improvement in some cases.

The author seems rather to underemphasize the physical side in schizophrenia and, although following more the biological and psychoanalytic views of it, adheres to the Kraepelinian ideas with regard to symptomatology. The psychogenic view is perhaps most emphasized in the discussion of epilepsy, in which the statement is made that idiopathic epilepsy is regarded as primarily mental in origin by most students of the disease. Although a few writers, like

L. Pierce Clark and Rowe, have attempted to emphasize the psychogenic factors in epilepsy, the reviewer feels that such a view represents the opinion of a comparatively small group and that most students of the disease regard it as primarily organic in origin. The chapter on epilepsy follows to a considerable extent Clark's theory that the epileptic personality or temperament is the primary disorder.

The chapter on psychoneuroses and neuroses is in many respects the poorest chapter in the book. An attempt is made to separate psychoneuroses from actual neuroses, but this is not done in any convincing manner and there is a certain degree of contradiction. Having classified neurasthenia as an actual neurosis, the author then states that "psychotherapy by which the morbid mechanisms are brought into consciousness" is the treatment to be used. One is left considerably confused by this attempt at classification.

In the chapter on mental deficiency, the author states that the average person has an I.Q. of 100. This is hardly in accord with the best studies on the subject, which indicate that the average person has an I.Q. of 87. Although stating in one passage that "most psychologists agree that a person having an I.Q. of over 70 should not be considered mentally deficient", the author accepts the different classification of 7 to 12 as representing the high-grade feeble-minded, which would mean that those with an I.Q. of less than 75 would fall into this group. It is obvious, of course, that any one who tries to reconcile data of this sort can only end up in difficulty and confusion. It would seem better, however, if the author had accepted some of the more recent conclusions which show that the old standards of a mental age of sixteen and an I.Q. of 100 as representing the average adult and an I.Q. of 75 or less as representing feeble-mindedness are no longer valid.

The chapter on the care and management of the psychotic is unusually good and in general represents the best ideas with regard to treatment at the present time. The reviewer is especially pleased to see the emphasis placed upon diet, which is a subject that receives altogether too little attention in our treatment of mental cases. It is stated that "no physical restraint should ever be employed for the purpose of keeping a patient in the tub. . . . As the temperature of the room soon seems cold to the patient, he can be coaxed back into the tub and after a few trials will usually remain." Here, again, the writer is undoubtedly expressing his own personal views and in a small book one must necessarily be dogmatic. However, there is considerable difference of opinion as to the use of a restraint canvas in the continuous bath, and it hardly seems fair, when many of our best psychiatrists and institutions use such a method, to condemn it in such absolute

terms. It might be also pointed out that the danger from exposure to a patient who is continually getting out of the tub is something that would cause some physicians to refuse to accept the writer's point of view.

In general, the reviewer feels that Noyes' book is probably the best textbook of psychiatry for nurses and social workers that we have at the present time.

Buckley's book makes an excellent supplement to Noyes'. His approach in general is quite different; the physical side is given much more emphasis and the whole book is presented in the more formal textbook manner. Schizophrenic and manic-depressive psychoses are regarded as arising essentially on a constitutional basis and very little is given concerning these disorders except the more formal aspects. The simple classification of mental disease is used, the psychoses being divided into those due to organic nervous disease, those due to intoxication, and those due to constitutional defect. The last fifty pages of the book are devoted to diseases of the nervous system.

Both of these books can be regarded as excellent contributions to the subject. The reading of the two together is suggested as an excellent plan for nurses in their study of psychiatry.

KARL M. BOWMAN.

Boston Psychopathic Hospital.

PARENTHOOD AND THE CHARACTER TRAINING OF CHILDREN. By Thomas Walton Galloway. New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1927. 224 p.

It will clear the way for discussion to describe at the outset the unusual purpose of Dr. Galloway's book. It cannot serve as a reference book; its function is not to teach facts or to develop methods; its goal is to stimulate thought, encourage the search for knowledge, and point the way to self-help. Here is presented, in a word, an outline for study groups that emphasizes certain essential problems of parenthood, but that is more concerned with the development in parents of desirable attitudes and healthy states of mind than with such definite problems as the prevention of food fads or how to cure Johnny's temper tantrums. There is a fairly adequate bibliography, in addition to the references in each chapter, for those who wish to make more detailed studies. But as the book stands, it cries aloud and very loudly for the most adequate leadership. The material is so general in character that whereas ultimate goals of a highly socialized nature are urged upon the parent, it devolves upon the class leader to point out the path that leads to the golden gates.

This is no mean task. It requires a person who is expert enough in mental hygiene to interpret to his group the tremendous amount of material contained in almost every paragraph. The subject matter is so condensed that it might easily confound the person who has as background only the common-sense and questioning attitude of the lay parent. It is the suggestion of the reviewer—perhaps an impertinent one—that Dr. Galloway's book would have infinitely more value if it were read, not along with, but after, a careful study of the elementary references in its bibliography.

As an outline for discussion groups, the arrangement of the material is excellent. In each chapter there are the following divisions: "illustrative situations", whereby the subject is made at once concrete and identifiable with the parents' problems; "essential problems confronting parents", which indicate the parental attitudes and ideas deemed desirable in relation to the topic discussed; "investigations", which are really projects so near home that the group will be interested in making first-hand reports; "starting points for study", which are provocative statements, theories, facts, or opinions for further study; "references", which are both secular and biblical; "starting points in the practice of parenthood", which state and describe some specific problems of child-raising closely related to the chapter at hand; and "topics for study and discussion", really a review of the chapter in question form.

In its emphasis on the parent-child relationship, in its insistence upon environmental influences, in its belief in the formation of character and personality rather than in their predestined character, Dr. Galloway's book is one that can do much good. One hopes, however, that the reader will be enough of a mental-hygienist to relieve the guilt of any erring parent, as there is no attempt to show that the latter is, too, the victim of his childhood experiences, even as his children are of theirs. Somewhere along the line there should be an attempt to understand the capriciousness, authority, stinginess, indifference, or what-not of reigning parents, so that they, too, are seen as motivated human beings and not merely as machines built to generate steady streams of cheer, sympathy, and security. Not that such steady streams should cease to be our ideals, but that there is too great an assumption that enlightenment and intelligence will do the trick, and too little appreciation of the fact that emotional difficulties, if unattended to, may prevent the happy change from, say, masterful domination to reasonable authority. "It is, then, the first duty of parents to make sound, wholesome, mutual personal adjustments both for their own happiness and for the welfare of their children." This is sound, unmistakably true, irrefutable mental

hygiene. But as is inevitable in a book of this sort, the ways and means of attaining this happy state of affairs cannot be discussed.

There is good material on the development of social and ethical concepts through concrete performance; on the formation of right habits through pleasurable associations; on the importance of the family group as preparation for adjustment to the larger social world; and on the subject of sex education. Ample space is given to the latter, and sex in its many relations to life is mentioned all through the book. In connection with this there is a very compact paragraph or two on the development of mother and father images and the need to be weaned from these. But again the business of slowly developing this idea, making it acceptable to the untutored layman, and interpreting it in simple terms, is left to the group leader.

Perhaps the weakest chapter in the book is the one entitled *The Mutual Influence of Morals and Religion and of Sex*, not because there can be any quarrel with Dr. Galloway's psychology, but because, with all its emphasis on the relation of sex to religion and the susceptibility of adolescence to religious experience, there is nowhere—except hidden in the references—any explanation of why these phenomena exist. Yet to most people this very proximity of two forces which we place artificially as far apart as the poles, while we are subtly aware of their nearness, remains a mysterious, inexplicable something-to-be-repressed.

All of which means, in brief, that *Parenthood and the Character Training of Children* is good mental hygiene and valuable in proportion to the background already acquired; that one is conscious in reading it of being grateful for the mental elaboration of the text that technical knowledge permits; and that it is much less a book for parents than it is for parent advisers.

JEANETTE REGENSBURG.

New York School of Social Work.

GROWING UP; THE STORY OF HOW WE BECOME ALIVE, ARE BORN, AND GROW UP. By Karl de Schweinitz. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. 111 p.

In this attractively published volume the author has succeeded in brushing aside the accretions of traditional phrasing that have grown up around this subject and has gone directly to his theme. With some thirty charming illustrations and about as many pages of print, he tells with rare force and clarity the story of reproduction and birth. The book is intended for children between the ages of six and twelve, and should preferably be read to the child, although it is a book that

can safely be put into his hands to be pored over and pondered as much as he pleases.

As the author has said, "Sex education is not so much a matter of words as of attitude", and the attitude throughout this little story, with all its simplicity, is refreshingly wholesome and scientifically accurate. It carries with it the sense of wonder and majesty that the true scientist feels in the face of nature's immutable laws.

JULIA MATHEWS.

Child Guidance Clinic, Los Angeles, California.

APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY, ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS. By A. T. Poffenberger. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1927. 586 p.

Not so long ago, when an applied psychology tried to raise itself to the side of the technical branches of other sciences as a useful member and of practical benefit to mankind, there were not a few in the ranks of psychology who treated this effort with mild derision. As late as 1917 leading teachers of psychology believed that the time was not ripe for application, but it is interesting that they advised their students to go into the war with it and see what could be done. Applied psychology really dates from the war, and from the founding in the same year of its first journal, *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, by L. H. Geissler and G. Stanley Hall, and the publication of the first book dealing with the general field of applied psychology, by H. L. Hollingworth and A. T. Poffenberger.

It is with this book that we are concerned at the moment—*Applied Psychology, Its Principles and Methods*—only it is a vastly different book from what it was when it first appeared in 1917. A. T. Poffenberger now appears as sole author, and the book has been reorganized and entirely rewritten. There is nothing else like it. *Applied Psychology* is an encyclopædic source book of principles, facts, and methods in a rapidly widening field of psychological application and can well serve this purpose for the student and for the worker in industry.

In the earlier work the general chapters of Part I were the outstanding summaries of studies in the economy of individual industry, and this is true of the present volume. Practical application is made of the facts of original nature. The chapter, *The Influence of Heredity upon Achievement*, discusses the physiological basis of action and the common inherited reactions, the reflex and instinct, and the facts of racial inheritance. *The Influence of Family Inheritance upon Achievement* considers problems of physical and mental inheritance. *Learning and Thinking*, two separate chapters, are clear and elementary statements of these complex fields in relation to methods of

effective work. The laws of suggestion are discussed, followed by rather technical chapters upon the influence of such biological factors as age, growth, sex, and race. The physiological phenomena of fatigue, rest, and sleep have a chapter in which the literature is surveyed and statements of conclusions are made where this is possible. Environmental factors of illumination, climate, and ventilation, considered in relation to output and the well-being of the worker, have also been summarized. Particularly interesting are the chapter, *The Effects of Distraction*, which discusses the nature of monotony and its effects, and the final chapter, *The Influence of Drugs and Stimulants*.

This first part of the book, some two hundred and fifty pages in itself, is a highly condensed and systematized text on the application of psychology to individual efficiency. It follows very closely the plan of the original book and the definition given: "We shall consider the *field of applied psychology to be every situation in which human behavior is involved and where economy of human energy is of practical importance.*"

Part II, of approximately three hundred pages, gives the facts, methods, and principles developed in the application of psychology to various fields of occupational activity. In this the major problems of the field are treated in summary fashion. A section dealing with vocational psychology, which "has to do with the selection and guidance of individuals into the occupations which will be most appropriate both for the worker and employer", is distinguished from a section dealing with industrial psychology, which "has to do with the activities of the worker in respect to all the factors that make for maximum return for the labor expended". This is an arbitrary distinction permissible, perhaps, to facilitate the presentation of material.

A superficial distinction is made between vocational selection and guidance: "Vocational selection means choosing a person for a particular job. . . . Vocational guidance, on the other hand, means choosing the occupation for which a given person is fitted. . . . Vocational guidance . . . is exceedingly laborious and difficult compared with vocational selection." This may be so, as observed in the work of many personnel departments, but not so with the ideal situation toward which many are striving, in which selection is a mere incident in vocational adjustment and the satisfaction of the worker is recognized as a condition to production, as is illustrated in the research of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology of Great Britain. The author makes an excellent plea for this point of view in a later chapter on the satisfaction of the worker. Whether it be called guidance or selection, the only adequate point of view for either

employer or employee is that of individual adjustment to the total working situation. It is to gain this end that the problems of vocational and industrial psychology, as distinguished here, have been investigated. The aim is the best man-job relationship.

Three chapters are given over to vocational psychology. *The Rôle of Judgment in Vocational Psychology*, which discusses the value of rating by judges and rating-scale methods, is an excellent summary statement of facts and results in this field. Measurement methods of general and special abilities and norms of ability adjustment are included in a second chapter, in which there is a valuable summary of methods employed in the construction of vocational tests. A remaining chapter in this section is entitled *The Measurement of Character and Interest*.

The three chapters under the heading *Industrial Psychology* deal with psychological factors in output, including problems of recognition of individual differences, specialization of function, standardization of the task, incentives to production, and welfare activity; economy of effort, through the proper placement of the worker, the proper relation of work and rest, and so on; and satisfaction as a product of work through adjustment according to abilities and emotional stabilities and through self-realization of interests. These are excellent brief summaries of the facts and conclusions of industrial psychology.

Business psychology is set apart from industrial psychology as dealing with the psychological problems that arise in the distribution of commodities to the consumer. Two chapters state the problems—*The Nature of the Consumer* and *The Adjustment of Advertising and Selling Methods to the Consumer*.

A section is given over to psychology and the law. It is here that the most original work has been done, in the presentation of applied material in a field in which there is no up-to-date general treatise. An analysis and summary statement is made of the psychological problems of crime. The chapter upon the prevention of crime deals with problems of intelligence and delinquency, individual capacity for restraint under stimulating situations, and other environmental influences upon crime. The chapter *The Determination of Guilt* deals with the factors involved in accurate testimony, and the chapter upon the treatment of offenders with the effects of punishment and methods of reëducation.

The remaining field of occupational activities to be considered, before the book concludes with a brief statement of educational psychology, is the relation of psychology and medicine. Three chapters deal with this general problem. Under the title *The Prevention of*

Disease, the part played by psychology in preventive medicine serves as very interesting reading. In *Diagnosis of Diseases* the author emphasizes the need of medical men to understand what is normal—statistically normal—which can best be obtained, as every college teacher knows, in the psychological laboratory before the student enters medical school. Intellectual and emotional diagnostic methods are reviewed. Psychoanalysis is appraised, and a third chapter discusses the treatment of diseases by methods of suggestion, moralization, rest, psychoanalysis, and reëducation.

The reading of *Applied Psychology* leaves one with a feeling of awe and admiration at the tremendous scope of the material summarized. Whatever criticism one may make of the details of interpretation and emphasis, the book is a great achievement in systematizing the facts, methods, and laws of the application of psychology. It refers to over two hundred and twenty-five authors and is an increase of more than one hundred thousand words over the original book as revised and enlarged in 1923. It can well lay claim to being the best introductory orientation to applied psychology, for which purpose it is undoubtedly used in many places. This does not mean that there are not better statements of the fields considered in separate books—industrial psychology, clinical psychology, psychology of advertising, and so forth—and that the trend of the development is not inclined to more specialized books. But it does mean that here is a book that will tell any one a great deal—enough for most of us—of what psychology really is in its application to the problems of life.

DOUGLAS FRYER.

New York University.

SHELL SHOCK AND ITS AFTERMATH. By Norman Fenton. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company, 1926. 173 p.

Those who have had experience with the varied problems in the medico-military field, particularly those that have to do with mental illness, will find in Dr. Fenton's book a masterly exposition of the entire subject. Fenton's concise, yet comprehensive survey will not surprise those who are familiar with his painstaking methods and untiring efforts while working at Base Hospital 117, France. Such a contribution was made possible by the fact that he had in mind at that time this broad, comprehensive view of the war neurosis, which included a study not only of its acute phase, but also of its biological and clinical significance, as well as its effect upon the soldier's subsequent adjustment to civil life.

Fenton's breadth of vision has enabled him to correlate the facts in a most illuminating and valuable way. He has not been satisfied

to gather statistics and then lend to them interpretations too strongly colored by his own experiences. His point of view has been refreshingly objective, and his numerous references indicate that he is familiar with the literature, not only of shell shock, but of many other medico-military branches.

He has discussed many problems, including desertion, cowardice, alcoholism, suicide, and criminalistic tendencies in general. His chapter, *The War Neurotic Back Home*, deals with the various agencies interested in the disabled veteran who has returned to the United States; the government's contribution to the soldiers' rehabilitation; and, particularly, the attitude of society toward the neurotic. This chapter contains much that tends toward a better understanding of the motives underlying neurotic manifestations.

In his concluding chapters, he makes some interesting and timely generalizations. He is inclined to the belief that "liability to neurotic symptoms is practically universal", yet he aptly points out that the pathology of such symptoms remains undetermined; and for definite reasons, which he discusses in the text of his book, he leaves us with the impression that the cure of the neurosis is invariably relative. He points out clearly how the effect of habit plays a part in the development of the neurosis, and warns parents and teachers of their responsibility in preventing undesirable patterns of conduct from becoming a disintegrating force in the personality of the child. He states, "By proper guidance and timely counsel, potential neurotics may be spared much unhappiness." This conclusion, I am sure, is shared by those who are familiar with the personality development of children.

I can give the book no better recommendation to the public than to say that, because of its clarity and conciseness, it cannot be discussed without elaboration which serves no useful purpose. Such a contribution should stimulate further investigations by those who are responsible for the medical care and rehabilitation, not only of ex-service men, but of those who have been rendered inefficient and unhappy by mental illness of any type.

As one closely associated with Dr. Fenton during the war, and deeply interested in the problems that he has so adequately discussed, I am greatly indebted to his efforts.

DOUGLAS A. THOM.

*Division of Mental Hygiene, State Department
of Mental Diseases, Massachusetts.*

SOZIOLOGIE UND SOZIALWISSENSCHAFTEN IN AMERIKA. By Andreas Walther. Karlsruhe: Verlag G. Braun, 1927. 143 p.

This book is a very useful and intelligent survey of the development and present status of American social science and social work, by a competent German scholar, professor of sociology in the University of Göttingen. It is based upon wide reading of American materials and upon a visit to the United States for the purpose of prosecuting this line of research, the results of which are summarized here.

Professor Walther presents his sketch and analysis of American social science under some seven headings, to each of which a chapter is assigned: (1) the general development of American social science; (2) social psychology; (3) studies of contemporary social organization and institutions; (4) social politics; (5) sociological studies in religion and education; (6) civics in the schools; and (7) the teaching of sociology in the schools, colleges, and universities.

Under the first heading Professor Walther sketches the general nature of American sociology and outlines the development of the early systems of sociology created by Ward, Giddings, Small, Sumner, Ross, Cooley, *et al.* His treatment of social psychology in the next chapter is comprehensive, though he devotes himself rather to the older psychological sociologists than to the more recent and technically trained social psychologists, such as Allport, Young, Gault, Bernard, and others. In his survey of the studies of contemporary social organization, he summarizes the work done on the sociological aspects of community, gangs, economic institutions, the press, and city planning. He considers here also the organization and methods of research in these fields. As social politics he regards the studies of dependents and delinquents as well as race problems. Under the caption of sociology and religion, he examines the works of the Christian social reformers, such as Rauschenbusch and Harry Ward, and the products of the students of the sociological interpretation of religion, such as Coe and others. Sociology and education he views as educational sociology, set forth by such writers as Dewey, O'Shea, Snedden, Betts, King, and others. The sixth chapter is an able assessment of the development of social studies, particularly in the field of secondary education. The last chapter treats of orientation courses in social science, introductory sociology courses, the distribution of courses and registration in the more advanced courses in sociology, and the status of graduate instruction in sociology.

The book is both encyclopedic and reasonably critical. It is true that Professor Walther's estimate has been colored by the particular literature that has come into his hands and by the American scholars

he has consulted. The influence of the *American Journal of Sociology* and of the University of Chicago is especially, but perhaps justly, noticeable. On the whole, however, it must be conceded that his study has been comprehensive, and the impression that he will give Germans regarding the development and status of American sociology will be illuminating and representative. The book might well be translated into English, so that American sociologists may learn how a talented foreign observer sizes up their learned endeavors.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Smith College.

THE CHILD AND THE HOME. By B. Liber. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1927. 248 p.

This book does not merit extended criticism. The author is a vegetarian, a pacifist, and apparently a believer in drugless therapy. His book makes no pretense at being a scientific contribution to the problems of child training, but is written from the single standpoint that the individuality of the child must, at almost any cost, be preserved. Sometimes he even overlooks the "almost". Actually, the resulting text is an amazing concoction of shopworn remarks on the bringing up of children, of vigorous thwackings of parents and their stupidities, and of lashings against the iniquities of the medical profession and of present-day society in general—all because the rights of the individuals who form the group fail to receive sufficient consideration.

A citation of the many flaws in the book would consume more time and energy than the book itself warrants. To give an inkling of the nature of these flaws, one finds, on page 153, that "too much physical and mental strain, as well as frequent punishment and fear of punishment, seem to be among the causes of myopia"; or, on page 167, that "fasting is an absolute necessity in all acute cases of 'belly-ache', vomiting, sore-throat, measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, etc.'".

HARRY M. TIEBOUT.

Institute for Child Guidance, New York City.

THE COMPANIONATE MARRIAGE. By Judge Ben B. Lindsey and Wainwright Evans. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 396 p.

Judge Lindsey's work in the Denver courts is well known, particularly since his book, *The Revolt of Modern Youth*. *The Companionate Marriage* is in a sense supplemental to this work.

It would be a mistake to assume that the author of this work advocates companionate marriage. I take it that his point of view is

quite different from that of an advocate. Companionate marriage is an accomplished fact. It is not a theory which we are to contemplate and either discard or accept in accordance with the preponderance of evidence; it is actually in existence in our midst, forming a very considerable percentage of marriage in the larger sense.

Judge Lindsey distinctly asserts his personal predilection for monogamy in the usual sense of that term, but he has great sympathy with the youth of the land who are floundering about in this day and age, having lost the security of their moorings to the old ideals and having as yet been unable to substitute new ideals that adequately take the place of the old.

In the meantime all sorts of phenomena are throwing up, one of which is the subject of this book. The judge, therefore, believes it to be the part of wisdom to sit on the side lines, as it were, observe the experiment that is taking place before our eyes, and see what we can learn as a result of that observation. This, I think, is the spirit of his book, and if it is read in this spirit, one will find it worth while. If it is read with the mistaken idea that it constitutes a plea, then the whole point of it will be lost.

FACE VALUE. By J. L. Campbell. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1927. 335 p.

A novel that deserves mention here for the reason that it presents a type of situation that the mental hygienist frequently discusses, but that he fails to make vivid and real as does one with less technical knowledge, but with facility in the use of language—on the one hand, the currents that run beneath conduct and give it its values and, on the other hand, the wholly incorrect estimates of conduct when these currents are not recognized or understood. A boy, born of a prostitute in a Paris "house", lives a "good" life among these "bad" people, and when adopted by an English family of wealth and position, lives a "bad" life among these "good" people. A simple enough formula, but the tale is told with a beauty, simplicity, and understanding that one cannot find in the accounts of those who know most about these things.

THE NEW REFORMATION: FROM PHYSICAL TO SPIRITUAL REALITIES. By Michael Pupin. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927. 273 p.

A series of essays, popularly written in the best sense, giving an account of the inroads of scientific observation and inductive reasoning into a world of premises and deduction. This part of the author's intention—to him, no doubt, the less important part—is most satisfactorily done, as one would expect from Professor Pupin. That part

of the author's intention which he would consider the most important part—to find at the end of this journey a “soul”—is no more satisfactorily done than similar attempts on the part of other scientists who have found themselves with the same urge.

EVOLUTION OF PREVENTIVE MEDICINE. By Sir Arthur Newsholme.

Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1927. 226 p.

Universities are having difficulties with their courses in hygiene. Students are said not to be interested. This little book in the hands of students taking such courses might well create an appetite for more. It is concerned only incidentally with personal hygiene, but as a brief introduction to the history of public-health work, it creates an invaluable background for the orientation of the student. Public-health work has consisted chiefly, until recent times, in the control of infectious diseases, and the author has confined himself to an account of the growth of knowledge in this field and the ways in which this knowledge has been put to effective use. Except for a chapter on “infant hygiene” and brief mention of light and vitamins in the chapter, *Modern Preventive Medicine*, no account is given of more recent activities in the field of public health. Nervous and mental diseases and mental hygiene are not mentioned.

MILITARY HOSPITALS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Lieutenant Colonel

Frank W. Weed. Washington: Government Printing Office. 857 p.

ARMY ANTHROPOLOGY. By Charles B. Davenport and Albert G. Love.

Washington: Government Printing Office. 635 p.

These two studies make up Volume V and Volume XV, respectively, of the history of the Medical Department of the United States Army in the World War. The first is an account of the organization and administration of the military hospitals in the United States during the war, with a detailed description of one of each type represented. The second discusses the anthropological data collected at the time of the selective draft of 1917 and 1918 and at demobilization during the summer and fall of 1919. These data include the findings with regard to three standard measurements—stature, weight, and chest circumference—among the first million draft recruits, and the relationship between these measurements and various diseases and defects among the first and the second million recruits; also the results of a further set of measurements made on about 100,000 men at demobilization and consisting of such items as sitting height, span, height of sternal notch and pubic arch, neck circumference, waist circumference, and so forth.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

CANADA

Alberta

Bill No. 51, of 1928, provides for the sexual sterilization of inmates of mental hospitals if, when an inmate is about to be discharged, such procedure is deemed advisable by a board of examiners. The bill was passed by the legislature, March 6, and will become effective as soon as it receives the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor. By the passage of this bill Alberta becomes the first Canadian province to adopt sterilization.

UNITED STATES

Federal laws

H.R. 140 is to establish in the Bureau of Education a division for the study of the mental and educational needs of backward, mentally deficient, and other types of handicapped school children.

H.R. 177 would establish in the Public Health Service a laboratory for the study of abnormal cases.

Alabama

An act (No. 498, Laws of 1927) was passed providing for the training in special classes of all children of school age three years or more retarded in mental development. This law applies to all towns of 6,000 population or over where there are ten or more such children.

The name of the Alabama Home for the Feeble-minded is changed to the Partlow State School for Mental Deficients. An appropriation of \$255,000 was provided for buildings and equipment.

A new provision in an act amending the Act of Alabama of 1923 relative to venereal-disease control is as follows: "Whenever any prostitute or one associated with them refuses to take and continue treatment for venereal disease as provided, such person or persons shall be committed to the county jail on the order of the county health officer or physician in charge of the venereal clinic and kept there for treatment until discharged as cured by the physician in charge of the case."

An act (No. 29, Laws of 1927) authorizes any state institution, including schools, colleges, and other educational institutions, to dis-

pose of any contingent interest it may have in any real estate in the state.

California

Plans for the establishment of a state laboratory for the scientific study and analysis of diseases that cause mental deficiency and insanity were discussed at the quarterly conference of medical superintendents of state institutions, March 2.

A proposal to change the present law in regard to insanity pleas in murder cases, so that all those who plead "guilty by reason of insanity", or who are convicted in such cases, will be confined in a state institution for life, is made by Senator Cobb of Fresno. He also proposes to extend this principle to include cases of assault with intent to commit murder. The present law permits a man to go free after one year in an asylum.

District of Columbia

Two bills reorganizing the procedure by which mentally deranged persons are committed to St. Elizabeths Hospital have been presented to Congress by Senator Capper at the request of Secretary of the Interior Work.

Florida

Chapter 1288 (No. 483), Laws of 1927, creates a state board of public welfare of five members, two of whom shall be women. The members are appointed by the governor, two for two years and three for four years, and upon the expiration of the terms of each, their places shall be filled in a like manner for a term of four years. This board shall appoint a secretary who shall be called "Commissioner of Public Welfare" and an assistant secretary who shall be called "Director of Child Welfare". The board shall have oversight of all persons on parole from state institutions, and shall pass annually on the continuance of every semi-public or private agency engaged in receiving or caring for afflicted, dependent or neglected, or delinquent children, and including the maternity homes and boarding houses for infants under three years of age and agencies placing children in private homes. Such agencies shall operate after January 1, 1928, only under license granted by the board of public welfare, which license is to be renewed annually, or may be revoked by the board. This act in no way applies to institutions under the control of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions.

Georgia

Act No. 257, of the Acts of the General Assembly of 1913, establishing the Georgia Training School for Girls, is amended by Act No. 372, Laws of 1927, as follows: (1) The salary of the superintendent shall be fixed by the board of managers. Heretofore the maximum salary fixed by law was \$1,500 per annum. (2) No girl who comes under the classification of mental defectives as defined in Section III of the act approved August 19, 1919, establishing the Georgia Training School for Mental Defectives, shall be sentenced or committed to the Georgia Training School for Girls. This section clearly defines the classes of girls to be admitted. (3) The board of managers is authorized to "discharge or release" as well as "to liberate conditionally on parole" any inmate from state institutions. (4) The board of managers is authorized to "return whence she came any girl who shall be found an improper subject for admission and who shall thereupon be dealt with by the court or judge committing her as would have been legal in the first instance had not the said girl been committed".

An act (No. 326, Laws of 1927) to amend Section I of an act approved August 20, 1918, makes the ordinaries of the several counties of the state the legal guardians and distributors of monies due to "idiots, lunatics, and insane persons, and persons *non compos mentis*" and gives these ordinaries power and authority to disburse such monies for the benefit of such persons. The act amended applies only to minor children.

Kentucky

A bill presented in the Kentucky Senate of 1928 provides that "insanity shall be no excuse for crime".

The Hunter Sterilization Bill, providing for the sterilization of certain inmates of insane and feeble-minded institutions, has been passed by the house.

Michigan

A new law (No. 207, Public Acts of 1927) concerns the organization and management of the state psychopathic hospital, repealing Act No. 278, Public Acts of 1907, and Act No. 310, Public Acts of 1917, both of which dealt with the same subject. All provisions governing the observation, commitment, and transfer of insane patients are made to include the feeble-minded and epileptic. In case the superintendent of any one of the state hospitals for mental diseases,

epileptics, or feeble-minded shall be of the opinion that the person may be valuable as clinical material at the psychopathic hospital, he (the superintendent) may on the approval of the director of the psychopathic hospital have the person removed to that institution. A great many changes in terminology occur, the majority of them causing the striking out of the terms "asylum" and "insane asylum" and the substitution of "hospital" and "hospital for mental diseases". Other changes in terminology and wording of the specific sections tend to clarify the purpose of the hospital, the powers and duties of the board of trustees and hospital officials, and the handling of funds.

Mississippi

A bill is now in preparation for the establishment of a Child Welfare Commission, along the lines suggested in Governor Bilbo's inaugural proposal. Dr. H. H. Ramsay, Superintendent of the Mississippi School and Colony for the Feeble-minded, states:

"In brief, the plan of Governor Bilbo would be to establish such a commission for the purpose of making a study of the causes of delinquency, dependency, etc., and to include a study of modern methods of handling the feeble-minded and other types which bring about social problems and the whole study and operation of such commission would be for the ultimate relief of these problems."

A bill has been presented, entitled, "An act to provide that insanity shall not be a defense to indictments for murder and to provide that proof of insanity may be offered in mitigation of the crime and to provide for the transfer of the criminal insane to or from the State Asylum for the Insane in certain cases."

A sterilization bill has been presented which refers directly to the inmates of the Mississippi Insane Hospital and may be applied to inmates of all other state institutions. It provides that the inmate be sterilized when the examining physicians are of the opinion that failure to do so "will promote insanity, imbecility, feeble-mindedness, or epilepsy".

New York

A bill presented in the 1928 assembly would create a special examining board of mental experts in the Department of Mental Hygiene to examine persons charged with murder and second-felony offenders, and report to the court before trial.

Pennsylvania

The 1927 legislature passed an act (No. 478) validating all divorces granted on the grounds of hopeless insanity, according to an act of April 18, 1905. The 1905 law had been declared unconstitutional and the present law was passed to settle the legality of all divorces granted between the passing of the 1905 act and that declaration.

Act No. 281, Laws of 1927, amends and adds to the Act of July 11, 1923, entitled "An act for the prevention and treatment of mental diseases, mental defect, epilepsy, inebriety, etc." It provides for the examination, and if necessary the commitment to and care in an appropriate institution, of persons detained in penal or correctional institutions or persons on bail awaiting trial, if, in the opinion of the superintendent, jail physician, or other responsible person, they are mentally defective.

This act also makes important changes in the parole procedure of mental defectives, it now being possible to keep such patients under more or less permanent parole supervision.

Article VI (a), Section 625, of the same act provides for the establishment of Colonies for Mental Defectives.

A joint resolution authorizes the governor and commissioner to appoint a commission of eight citizens, of whom two shall be prosecuting attorneys, two judges of the court of common pleas, one member of the senate, one member of the house of representatives, and two other citizens, at least one of whom shall have had experience in social-welfare work. The attorney general shall be an *ex-officio* member. The commission is to make a thorough study of crime in Pennsylvania and the laws, conditions, and practice of the commonwealth with regard to crime, and to present a full report in writing to the general assembly on or before February 1, 1929.

Rhode Island

Mental as well as physical examinations for drivers' licenses are requirements included in an act to revise existing motor-vehicle laws.

Virginia

The Virginia sterilization law was declared constitutional in a decision rendered by the United States Supreme Court in the test case of *Buck versus Bell*, May 2, 1927. Mr. Justice Holmes delivered the opinion of the court (Mr. Justice Butler dissenting) which reads in part, as follows: ". . . Carrie Buck is a feeble-minded white woman who . . . is the daughter of a feeble-minded mother in the same institution and the mother of an illegitimate

feeble-minded child. . . . The judgment finds . . . that Carrie Buck 'is the probable potential parent of socially inadequate offspring, likewise afflicted, that she may be sexually sterilized without detriment to her general health, and that her welfare and that of society will be promoted by her sterilization', and thereupon makes the order. . . . We have seen more than once that the public welfare may call upon the best citizens for their lives. It would be strange if it could not call upon those who already sap the strength of the state for these lesser sacrifices, often not felt to be such by those concerned, in order to prevent our being swamped with incompetents. It is better for all the world, if instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime, or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind. The principle that sustains compulsory vaccination is broad enough to cover the cutting of the Fallopian tubes. . . . Three generations of imbeciles are enough. But, it is said, however it might be if this reasoning were applied generally, it fails when it is confined to the small number who are in the institutions named and is not applied to the multitudes outside. It is the usual last resort of constitutional arguments to point out shortcomings of this sort. But the answer is that the law does all that is needed when it does all that it can, indicates a policy, applies it to all within the lines, and seeks to bring within the lines all similarly constituted so far and so fast as its means allow. Of course so far as the operations enable those who otherwise must be kept confined to be returned to the world, and thus open the asylums to others, the quality aimed at will be more nearly reached."

BRITISH PRISON LIFE: THE HOME SECRETARY'S VIEWS

The following report of the British Home Secretary's views on British prison conditions is by Alfred Nutting, Clerk, American Consulate-General, London. The report was approved by Horace Lee Washington, American Consul-General, London, and its publication was authorized by the Department of State at Washington.

The home secretary (Sir William Joynson-Hicks) has recently completed a tour of all the convict prisons and many of the short-time prisons, and, in an interview granted on November 22, 1927, to the Press, described his impressions of the British prison system.

He stated that the yearly number of persons sentenced to imprisonment is now about 54,000 to 55,000, and on any average day he is responsible for the custody of over 10,000 persons. This population is not limited to persons convicted of criminal offenses, but includes—in addition to many sent to prison on remand—a large number of persons

confined for noncompliance with maintenance-of-affiliation orders, or as rate and income-tax defaulters, or for failure to pay debts which they had the means to pay.

Fortunately, he said, the number of very short sentences is decreasing, but there are still about 14,600 persons committed every year for terms of one or two weeks. These short sentences give rise to a great deal of trouble in prison administration.

Many of these short sentences are in default of paying fines. Every practicable method of securing payment of fines ought to be adopted before recourse is had to imprisonment.

A sentence of less than a month, and probably less than three months, is useless in every way, he maintained. It cannot reform and it may degrade.

Over 2,000 lads under twenty-one are sent to prison every year, many of them for comparatively trivial offenses. He considered that in some of these cases it would have been better if fuller use had been made of the methods of probation and supervision. There are also lads in prison who have been convicted over and over again before the age of twenty-one. Surely, he said, it would be better if some were not sent to prison for a few weeks or months, but to a Borstal Detention for a two-year course of discipline and training.

The handling of this mixed population of all ages and all types presents a difficult problem, which cannot be properly tackled unless the various groups are separated so that they can be appropriately treated; the problem is largely one of classification or differentiation. We have now reached the stage at which it is difficult to make further progress in differentiation within each prison, and experiments have been made in the way of classifying prisons, and setting aside particular prisons for particular types of offenders.

As regards prison treatment, he said, "My view is that the most important element is hard work. By insisting that prisoners shall do a hard day's work, the punitive and the reformatory objects of prison treatment can be combined. Hard work serves the double purpose of a deterrent punishment and a reformatory treatment."

Breaking monotony.—"Public attention has been focused in recent years on the steps taken to break the monotony of prison life and to keep alive the prisoners' capacity for interest and improvement by means of lectures. These things, because they are novel, have received attention out of all proportion to the part they occupy in the general system.

"It is certainly not my policy to introduce into prisons anything in the nature of luxuries; but provided that a prisoner does a really hard day's work, and does it well, there are advantages in allowing him as a reward and incentive some reasonable privileges which relieve solitude and tedium and make him a better and more cheerful worker."

Work of reformation.—"It is said that prisons make criminals. It is true that a large proportion of persons found at any one time in prison have been previously convicted, but it is also true that a large number of people who are sent to prison once take care never to come back again. In these cases imprisonment has done effectively its work of enforcing obedience to the law.

"The more hopeful line is to concentrate on the young offender,

with a view to preventing his drifting into a life of crime. Much useful work is being done in the Borstal Institutions where we can keep lads under discipline and training for a sufficiently long period to enable a change to be effected in their characters and habits. The proportion of Borstal lads who revert to crime subsequently is comparatively small, and I am satisfied that this is the most hopeful branch of prison work.

"Generally speaking, we have in the prison service a first-rate type of officer—men of good education and sterling character. It is on these officers, who supervise the daily routine, who instruct the prisoners in their work, who maintain discipline mainly by force of character, good sense, and a knowledge of how to handle men, that the efficiency of the prison system largely depends. Their humanity and tact have frequently attracted the comment of foreign experts who come to study our system.

Life sentences.—"How are life sentences administered? The answer is that the case of every prisoner under a long sentence—whether life or not—is constantly kept in mind. Even if neither he nor his friends raise his case, periodical reports are made to me upon him, so that I may take any necessary action that may be indicated. When a capital sentence has been commuted to one of penal servitude for life, one of my most onerous responsibilities is the decision whether the time has or has not come when release would be justified.

"I have recently been giving attention to the convict prisons. There are three such prisons. At Maidstone all the convicts are men whose first offense has led to sentence of penal servitude; none of them has been previously convicted. There I found most of the murderers who for some reason or another had been reprieved, all of them well conducted and I hope never likely to return to prison.

"At Dartmoor all the convicts are recidivists who have been convicted more than once—most of them many times. At Parkhurst there is a mixed population, including both first offenders and recidivists. It is prison reserved for those whose mental or bodily condition renders them less suited to the routine at Maidstone or Dartmoor. Many of the Parkhurst population are old men or men suffering from some bodily defect or ailment, or men of a difficult type mentally or temperamentally."

Conditions at Dartmoor.—"Dartmoor is sometimes regarded as a more forbidding prison than others, partly because of its lonely, remote, and exposed situation, and partly because guns have to be carried by some of the officers when in charge of prisoners outside the walls. There are miles of open moor all around and special precautions have to be taken to prevent escapes.

"The prison has a very old history, dating from the French wars, and it has been continued not because of its position, but simply because use must be made of the extensive accommodation existing there.

"The general treatment of prisoners at Dartmoor is similar to that in other convict prisons. Some of them are employed in workshops, and others in the quarry and on the farm. The farm is mainly a stock farm for cattle, horses, sheep, and pigs. There is a good herd of milch cows, and a few years ago Galloway cattle were introduced, and are doing well."

Social enemies.—"The prisoners take great pride in the animals under their care. Discipline at Dartmoor is on the same lines as else-

where; though necessarily and properly it is strict, it is humane and considerate; and the great majority of the convicts—however bad their record outside may have been—behave well in prison.

"What hope have I of the men at Dartmoor? Honestly, very little. It is really the cesspool of English humanity. I am personally convinced that sooner or later the nation will demand that it should be protected from men who simply live upon crime. After a certain number of convictions for serious crimes, surely a better form of preventive detention could be provided where the real social enemy could be maintained in perhaps pleasanter circumstances than at Dartmoor, either for his whole remainder of life or until such an age as he might no longer be dangerous to the community."

CRIMINAL LAW AND INSANITY IN ENGLAND

The *Journal of the American Medical Association*, in its issue of January 7, 1928, published the following comment from its London correspondent on the report of the Atkin committee and the lord chief justice's criticism of it.

The question of insanity as a defense for crime seems destined to be a perpetual bone of contention between the medical and the legal professions. The leading principle of the criminal law of England relating to insanity by a person accused of crime is to be found in the answers given in 1843 to the House of Lords by the judges in the *McNaghten* case, which laid down that for successful defense the accused must be proved to have at the time of committing the crime labored under a disease of mind which either prevented him from recognizing the nature of the act or from recognizing that the act was wrong. But alienists have long contended that an accused person may fail to satisfy both these tests and yet by reason of mental disease be suffering from an uncontrollable impulse which caused him to commit the crime and that this should be a defense. In 1922 this point arose in the notorious *True* case, and a committee of well-known lawyers, presided over by Lord Justice Atkin, was appointed to consider the subject. The council of the British Medical Association submitted evidence approving of the rules in the *McNaghten* case, but adding that no act should be regarded as a crime if at the time the accused was prevented by defective mental power or by any disease affecting the mind from controlling his conduct, unless the absence of control was due to his own default. The committee so far agreed with the British Medical Association as to recommend (1) that a person was not responsible when the act was committed under an impulse which he was by mental disease deprived of power to resist, and (2) that in other respects the *McNaghten* rules should be maintained. The recommendation, however, has not been carried into effect.

The lord chief justice, Lord Hewart, has just delivered to the Medical Society of London the fifth David Lloyd Roberts Lecture on criminal law and insanity, in which he adopted uncompromisingly the lawyers' view, which refuses any modification of the *McNaghten* rules. Criticizing the report of the Atkin committee, the lord chief justice said that if it was accepted, it would be immaterial that the prisoner knew what he

was about, or that he knew he was doing what was wrong. He might indeed be well aware of the one and the other. But he would still be excused from criminal responsibility if he committed the act under an impulse which he was by mental disease in substance deprived of any power to resist. This suggestion, whatever its merits might be, was not at all a product of the twentieth century. It was really the ancient and dangerous plea of the uncontrollable impulse, which in practice was so difficult to distinguish from the impulse that was not controlled. The doctrine involved two propositions. The first was that there were unfortunate persons who, though they knew what they were about and also knew that they were doing wrong, were nevertheless impelled, by diseased and irresistible impulse, to commit an apparently criminal act. The second proposition was one of legislative morality or expediency—that these persons, by reason of their number or otherwise, were of such importance as to require or deserve a fundamental revision of the criminal law. If this unfortunate type existed, the question remained whether, for that reason, it was just and necessary to entertain or to make a drastic alteration in the criminal law. If this was done, the objective tests for judge and jury would disappear. It would be of little use to explore the evidence in order to ascertain whether, in the particular case, the prisoner was perfectly well aware of what he was doing, or perfectly well aware that what he was doing was wrong. The crucial question would forthwith be whether he was acting under an irresistible impulse. And on what materials, and with what guidance, would the jury be called on to answer that question? Would there be any except the medical opinion, which the prisoner might be fortunate enough to be able to adduce in his favor, contradicted by the medical opinion which might be offered on the part of the prosecution? What were the true dimensions of the difficulty for which so far-reaching a solution was suggested? "It was established", the report said, "to our satisfaction that there are cases of mental disorder where the impulse to do a criminal act recurs with increasing force until it is, in fact, uncontrollable. Thus cases of mothers who have been seized with the impulse to cut the throats of or otherwise destroy their children to whom they are normally devoted are not uncommon." But already a special statute dealt with infanticide and offered a lenient alternative in cases of mental disturbance falling far short of insanity, where a mother not yet fully recovered from the effects of childbirth destroyed her newly born child.

The lord chief justice is a very lucid and able judge, but his criticism of the report of the Atkin committee is weak. He makes no attempt to controvert the view taken by alienists and adopted by the committee—that the McNaghten rules require the addition of "the uncontrollable impulse" as a defense. He even accepts it in the case of the recently delivered mother. His objection is that the jury would have to depend on medical opinion and that there might be a clash of expert evidence. But all this is possible in any case in which medical or other expert evidence is used and no one has had the temerity to suggest that as a reason for ignoring expert evidence.

THE MORAL EQUIVALENT.

Editorial, *The New York Times**

Professor William James would find, in the service of men who offered their lives for the public good in exposing themselves to yellow fever infection in order to further its study and control, a full moral equivalent for that virtue which innumerable hosts have shown in war and which for ages has been accounted the prime virtue of manhood. There is now a resolution before Congress designed to give such recognition. Its preamble recalls the valorous spirit of Major Walter Reed and his associates who, in full knowledge of the danger involved and without hope of reward, except in the consciousness of the value of their contribution, faced this peril. It provides that in view of the high public service rendered, suffering endured, and disabilities contracted by them in the interest of humanity and science, their names be placed upon the roll of the War Department with such grants to them during their natural lives and to their widows as Congress may determine.

The resolution also looks toward prompt recognition of such other heroic equivalents in the future through the creation of a National Honors Commission, consisting of seven members representing officially the Surgeons General of the Army and the Navy, the Public Health Service, the Bureau of Standards and the Smithsonian Institution, with presidents of two of the Land Grant colleges or universities. This commission is directed and empowered to investigate all cases of citizens employed in the public service of the United States who, through voluntary risk of life or health, shall have made conspicuous contribution to the well-being and happiness of the people of this country and shall have endured disability or privation by reason thereof. It is to report to the President and to recommend suitable action in every case.

Surgeon General Ireland has stated in a letter to Congressman Wainwright, who has introduced the resolution in the House, that he considers that the pensions, when given, were not "suitable to meet the necessities of the recipients", or adequate to reward so great a work, and are even more inadequate at present. Funds have been privately raised to meet the necessities of one survivor and his family; but the service was given to the public through a government agency and the government should not leave the needs of such soldiers of peace to the chance care of charity or the recognition of their heroic service to the appraisal and reward of citizen committees.

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M. THÉRÈSE DE BIRMINGHAM

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